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தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்



உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

International Institute of Tamil Studies



"அறிவுச் செல்வங்கள் அனைத்தையும்
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அம்மா அவர்கள்

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அணிந்துரை

காலத்தால் உருவாகியும் வளர்ந்தும் முதிர்ந்தும் மொழிகளுக்கெல்லாம் மூத்த மொழியாக இருப்பது தமிழ்மொழி, எனினும் அதன் இளமையையும் எளிமையையும் தெளிவையும், இனிமையையும் உலகறியச் செய்ய முனைப்புடன் செயல்பட்ட அறிஞர் பெருமக்கள் பலர். அவர்களுள் "திறமான புலமையெனில் வெளிநாட்டார் அதை வணக்கம் செய்தல் வேண்டும்" என்ற மகாகவியின் மந்திர மொழிக்கேற்பத் தமிழ்மொழியின் பெருமையை உலகமெலாம் பரவச் செய்த பெருமக்களுள் தவத்திரு **தனிநாயக அடிகளாரும்** ஒருவர். அவர் உலக நாடுகளுக்கெல்லாம் தாமே தூதாகச் சென்று தமிழின் பெருமையை, தமிழனின் அருமையை, தமிழ்நாட்டின் தனித்தன்மையை எடுத்துக் கூறித் தமிழின் உயர்மொழிப் பண்பை உலகறியச் செய்தவர். உலகத்தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் தோன்றக் காரணமானவர்.

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி மாநாடுகள் காணச் செய்தவர். ஈழத்தில் 02.08.1913இல் நாகநாத கணபதி பிள்ளைக்கும் (ஹென்றி ஸ்தனிஸ்லாஸ்) சிசில் இராசம்மா வஸ்தியா பிள்ளைக்கும் திருமகனாகத் தோன்றியவர். உலகெங்கும் சென்று உயர்தமிழுக்கு உரிய பெருமை கிடைக்கப் பாடுபட்டவர்.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளார் உலக நாடுகளுக்குச் சென்று தமிழ்மொழியின், தமிழ் இனத்தின் பெருமையை

உலகறியச் செய்தபோது ஆய்வாளர்களும் தமிழ் ஆர்வலர்களும் தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி இதழொன்று ஆங்கிலத்தில் வெளியிட வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்தினை அவரிடம் தெரிவித்தார்கள்.

அதன் பயனாக உலக நாடுகளில் பணியாற்றிவரும் தமிழறிஞர்களை ஒருங்கிணைத்துத் தமிழாராய்ச்சியை ஒருமுகப்படுத்தவும், வளப்படுத்தவும் 1952இல் Tamil Culture என்னும் முத்திங்கள் இதழை அடிகளார் தொடங்கினார். அவ் இதழில் தமிழ்ப்பண்பாடு, தமிழர் கல்விநிலை, தமிழர்களின் சிந்தனைச் செழுமை பற்றிய கட்டுரைகளைச் சமகால மேலைநாட்டு இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வுக் கோட்பாடுகளுக்கேற்ப அடிகளார் எழுதினார். மேலும் பல மேநாட்டறிஞர்களின் கட்டுரைகளையும் இடம்பெறச் செய்தார். அவருடைய நூற்றாண்டு விழா, **மாண்புமிகு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களின் மேலான ஆணைப்படி தமிழ்நாடு அரசின் சார்பில் உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தில் சிறப்பாக நடத்தப்பட்டது. அவர் தொடர்புடைய நூல்கள் வெளியிடப்பட்டு அவரது தமிழ்ப்பணி போற்றப்பட்டது.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரை ஆசிரியராகக் கொண்டு 1952 ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் முத்திங்களிதழாக Tamil Culture என்னும் இதழ் வெளிவந்தது. இவ்விதழின் தொகுப்புகள் இன்று உங்கள் கரங்களில் தவழ்கின்றன.

இவ்விதழ்கள் தமிழ்த் தொண்டு பரவுசீர்க் கருத்துக் கருவூலங்கள்; காலங் காலமாக நாடெங்கும் ஒளிவீசக் கூடியவைகள்; அருகிவரும் தமிழாய்வுக் களங்களுக்கு கலங்கரை விளக்கொளிகள்; அரிதின் முயன்று அன்னைத் தமிழ் வளர்த்த தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரின் Tamil Culture முத்திங்கள் இதழ்களை ஆண்டுவாரியாக ஒன்றுதிரட்டித் தொகுப்பு நூல்களாக வெளியிடப்படுகின்றன.

தமிழறிஞர்களின் தமிழ்த் தொண்டினை எப்போதும் பாராட்டுவதில் முதன்மையானவர் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்கள் ஆவார். மாண்புமிகு அம்மா அவர்கள் தமிழ் மீதும் தமிழர் மீதும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் மீதும் தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டின் மீதும்

கொண்டுள்ள அன்பும் கருணையும் அளப்பரியன. ஆதலால், இவற்றின் மேம்பாட்டுக்கெனப் பல திட்டங்களை மேற்கொண்டு வருகின்றார்கள். ஒல்லும் வகையெல்லாம் தமிழ் வளர்த்து வரும் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித்தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களுக்கு உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தின் சார்பில் நன்றிகளைப் பதிவு செய்கின்றேன்.

தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆக்கமும் ஊக்கமும் அளித்துவரும் மாண்புமிகு தமிழ் ஆட்சிமொழி, தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டுத் துறை, தொல்லியல் துறை (ம) பள்ளிக் கல்வித் துறை அமைச்சர் கே. சி. வீரமணி அவர்களுக்கும் நன்றி.

தமிழ் வளர்ச்சிப் பணிகளில் ஆர்வத்தோடு நாட்டம் செலுத்தித் தமிழ்த் தொண்டாற்றிவரும் தமிழ்வளர்ச்சி மற்றும் செய்தித்துறைச் செயலாளர் முனைவர் மூ.இராசாராம் இ.ஆ.ப. அவர்களுக்கும் இதயம் கனிந்த நன்றியினைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

இந்நூல் சிறப்பான முறையில் மறு அச்சுப் பெற முனைந்து உழைத்த உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவன அனைத்துப் பணியாளர்களுக்கும் அச்சகத்தார்க்கும் என் நன்றி.

இயக்குநர்

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Regional Nationalism in Twentieth Century Tamil Literature

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The nature and scope of language nationalism in India and Ceylon have been frequently the subject of comment both by foreigners and natives. While Sahitya Academies (Literary Academies) attempt through translations to interpret one regional culture and one regional literature to another, and bring together within the boards of the same volume the literary output of different regional groups, the prophets of doom and the pundits of uniformity see in regional language revivals a threat to national unity. The postulates of national unity enunciated by the two paramount ideologies in this field are rather conflicting. One assumes that unity can be achieved only on the basis of a total and all inclusive uniformity; the other believes in a language and cultural pluralism which will build the unity of the nation on non-controversial foundations about which there is general consent. The essential constitutive element of a multilingual, multi-religious nation is neither language nor religion; in the case of India or Ceylon, a common territory and the psychological "will to live together" have more to commend themselves as the basis of the nation, than the factors which pronounce difference.[1]

CONSTITUTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE NATION

We are, perhaps unconsciously but gradually moving towards a world language as we are moving towards a world government, but neither the world language nor

1. On the constitutive elements of a Nation, see KOHN HANS, *Nationalism in the 18th century*, HERTZ FREDERICK, *Nationalism*, Kegan Paul, London.

world government is thought of, for the present, as being achieved by the complete disappearance of all languages but one, or by the complete surrender of the sovereignty of single States. T. S. Eliot made the best plea for national cultures within the large Nation, and the aims of UNESCO in some measure enunciate the same plea. Eliot states, in effect, that the preservation of all languages with their respective cultures is in the best interests of those very groups which seek to destroy or stultify or weaken the languages and cultures of groups politically not as powerful. The ***Notes on the Definition of Culture*** is a book which the advocates as well as the victims of repressive language laws and of subtle undermining movements should study and ponder. Would that the extremists realised that one is not less Indian or less Ceylonese for one's allegiance to one's mother-tongue and to the culture complex within which one is born. Says T. S. Eliot:

> "The unity of culture, in contrast to the unity of political organisation, does not require us all to have only one loyalty; it means that there will be a variety of loyalties. It is wrong that the only duty of the individual should be held to be towards the State; it is fantastic to hold that the supreme duty of every individual should be towards a super-state."[2]

To the vast majority of twentieth century Tamil writers a dual loyalty, to the Region and to the Nation, or to the nation (Tamil) and the Nation (Indian or Ceylonese) are not conflicting loyalties.[3] They produce no contradiction and no ambivalance. The two loyalties are the two foci about which are described their

2. **Eliot, T. S.,** *Notes on the Definition of Culture.*
3. **Eliot, T. S.,** *Notes on the Definition of Culture,* **Statements on regionalism.**

ellipse of total patriotism and loyalty. But this statement has to be qualified, and that is the purpose of this outline study.

RENAISSANCE WRITERS

Sundaram Pillai (1855-1897) earlier than the dawn of the century saluted India as the face of the ***Mater Terrena***, the Deccan as the forehead and the ***Alma Mater Tamulica*** as the fragrant ***tilak*** on that forehead, and inaugurated the century's Tamil attitude towards India and the Tamil country. In lines to be quoted ceaselessly during the Tamil Renaissance, he saluted the antiquity of the ***Alma Mater Tamulica*** who had given birth to the other Dravidian languages, and who though equally ancient as Sanskrit remained young and vigorous while Sanskrit has ceased to be a living language of every day use.[4] The burden of these lines has been a recurrent theme during the last sixty years and has not been superseded even now as the main undertone of patriotic Tamil writing.

The Tamil Revivalist scholars, the chief representatives of which early in the century were Maraimalai Adigal (1876-1950) in letters, and J. M. Nallaswami Pillai (1864-1920) in Saiva Siddantha philosophy, were most concerned with obtaining due recognition for the characteristic contributions made to Indian and World Culture by the Tamil language, literature, philospophy and religion. They were not greatly concerned with political loyalties. They strove to remove the prejudice which had grown during recent centuries, namely, that the Tamil language and thought were dependent on Brahmin thought and on Sanskrit literature. Maraimalai Adigal was not even enamoured of the prospect of independence for India. He was of the opinion that

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the British administration might ensure greater justice and fair play than a native administration in which the upper classes might oppress the lower. Secluded and retired scholar that he was, Maraimalai Adigal generally lived outside the ambit of political movements.

The writers who are very much involved in this dual loyalty to the region and the larger political unit, are the Tamil poets and essayists of the independence movement. The political movement for independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi brought about a unification of Indian sentiment and interest among the various language territories which made itself evident in the poetry and prose of the period. The Tamil writers take pride not only in the heritage of India, in its great literature, art and sculpture and in its Dharma, but also in the achievements of their brilliant North Indian compatriots like Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), Swami Vivekananda (1862-1902), Lokhamanya Tilak (1856-1920), and Gokhale (1866-1915). They hold up to their readers, like the writers of other parts of India, the vision of an India one and undivided, free from the tyranny of the foreigner, free to develop its own resources and bring a golden age of plenty to the masses of the people. They envisage popular education, economic self-sufficiency, purified religion and social equality for the whole of India and for Indians all over the world. The evils prevalent in India are evils intrinsically attendant on foreign rule, and once the yoke is cast off, prosperity is assured with freedom, and the Indian El Dorado is nigh.

NATIONALISM IN POETRY

Subramanya Bharati (1882-1921), as the poet of Tamil patriotism, envisages this unification of India and the interprovincial pooling of her resources with lyrical enthusiasm. Malayalee damsels will be sporting on the

moonlit Indus to the accompaniment of songs sung in musical Telugu. The betel leaves of the Kaveri basin will be exchanged for the wheat of the Gangetic plain, and to the brave Mahratti poets will be given in recognition of their verse the ivory tusks of elephants from the forests of Kerala. A way will be found to have the learned disquisitions of philosophers in Benares heard in Southern Kanjeepuram; and for the warriors of Rajasthan, medals will be beaten of gold from the Kannada mines. Poverty in India will vanish once there is industrialisation and the factories produce the foods which an Indian merchant navy will carry to the four corners of the world.

"சிந்து நதியின்மிசை நிலவினிலே
சேரநன் னாட்டிளம் பெண்களுடனே
சுந்தரத் தெலுங்கினில் பாட்டிசைத்துத்
தோணிக ளோட்டிவிளை யாடிவருவோம்;

"கங்கை நதிப்புறத்துக் கோதுமைப்பண்டம்
காவிரி வெற்றிலைக்கு மாறுகொள்ளுவோம்;
சிங்க மராட்டியர்தம் கவிதைகொண்டு
சேரத்துத் தந்தங்கள் பரிசளிப்போம்;

"காசி நகர்ப்புலவர் பேசும்உரைதான்
காஞ்சியில் கேட்பதற்கோர் கருவிசெய்வோம்;
ராசபுத் தானத்து வீரர்தமக்கு
நல்லியற் கன்னடத்துத் தங்கம்அளிப்போம்."[5]

In the poems in which he hypostatises India as a Mother and Queen, Bharati, steeped as he was in the literature and history of India, is conscious, as few Indian poets of the twentieth century are, of the multisided contribution with which India has enriched the world. The unique features of the Himalayas and the Ganges and India's natural

5. பாரதியார் கவிதைகள், பாரத தேசம், பாரதி பதிப்பகம், சென்னை—17. பக் 5—7. On Bharati, see P. MAHADEVAN, *Subramania Bharati*, Atri Publisher, Madras—1957.

resources, the antiquity of her cultural contribution and its unbroken continuity, her religious thought in the Upanishads, the different religious leaders to whom she has given birth; her music, her art, and her historic warriors, and contemporary political leaders come in for a full measure of delirious pride and enthusiasm. To Mother India he attributes a Maternity and a Virginity which he has heard in the Tamil tradition attributed to Tamil. Even the gods who know the details of the past know not the date when Mother India came into being for she is timeless and ageless. Though so ancient a Mother, yet she appears as young as a Virgin to the contemporary world. Like Durga, she is a goddess with three hundred million faces but with one principle of life, with eighteen tongues but with one mind.

> " தொன்று நிகழ்ந்த தனைத்தும் உணர்ந்திடு
> சூழ்கலை வாணர்களும்—இவள்
> என்று பிறந்தவள் என்றுண ராத
> இயல்பின ளாம்எங்கள் தாய்.
>
> "யாரும் வகுத்தற் கரிய பிராயத்த
> ளாயினு மேயெங்கள் தாய்—இந்தப்
> பாருள்எந் நாளுமோர் கன்னிகை என்னப்
> பயின்றிடு வாள்எங்கள் தாய்.
>
> "முப்பது கோடி முகமுடை யாள்உயிர்
> மொய்ம்புற வொன்றுடையாள்—இவள்
> செப்பு மொழிபதி னெட்டுடை யாள்,எனிற்
> சிந்தனை ஒன்றுடையாள்."[6]

Endowed by Nature and enriched by human achievements, the Indian legacy is incomparable, says Bharati.

6. பாரதியார் கவிதைகள், எங்கள் தாய், பாரத தேசம், பாரத நாடு, பாரத மாதா etc., பாரதி பதிப்பகம், சென்னை—17

Namakkal Ramalingam (1888-) who was the Tamil Poet of Independence during the more active phase of the Indian independence movement inherits Bharati's All-India outlook. Often he paraphrases in popular language the topics and ideas Bharati sang in lyrical and elegant poetry. India is the home which God has built for Indians between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin and the two seas :

> " இந்திய நாடிது என்னுடை நாடு
> என்று தினந்தினம் நீயதைப் பாடு ...
> கன்னி இமயக் கடலிடை நாடு
> கடவுள் எமக்கெனக் கட்டிய வீடு."[7]

In his salutation to Mother India, Ramalingam apostrophizes her multilingual skill, aud like Bharati finds in the many languages of India a source of great pride :

> 'பாஷைகள் பற்பல படித்தவள் நீயே.

He writes of the greatness of the political and intellectual leaders of twentieth century India, and identifies himself with them as any other Indian of his day. Like Bharati, he also has verses dedicated to the life and achievements of Mahatma Gandhi, and other all-India leaders like Nehru, Tilak, Naoroji, Patel, Gokhale, Ramakrishna and Tagore. The great names of Tamil literature, the epics, devotional and ethical literature, all lead but to Gandhism, and therefore Tamil Nad should live Gandhism and propagate Gandhism. In the Indian leaders, Ramalingam realises the ideals so insistently outlined by Tamil thought. Mahatma Gandhi is Thiruvalluvar born again, and is the living Tirukkural.

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7. நாமக்கல் ராமலிங்கம், தமிழன் இதயம், என்னுடை நாடு, மைலாப்பூர், 1956, பக். 84.

"தெள்ளியநல் அறங்களையே தெளிவாய்ச் சொல்லித்
திணையளவும் பிசகாமல் நடந்து காட்ட
வள்ளுவனே மறுபடியும் வந்தான் என்ன
வழிகாட்டித் திருக்குறளை வாழ்ந்த வள்ளல்
பிள்ளைமனப் பேரறிஞன் பெம்மான் காந்தி
பெருநெறியே தமிழ்த்தாயின் பேச்சா மென்று
கள்ளமற நாமறிந்து கொள்வோ மானால்
காத்திடலாம் தமிழ்மொழியை; வளர்ச்சி காணும்."[8]

NATIONALISM IN PROSE

As the editor of a newspaper Tiru. V. Kaliyanasundara Mudaliyar (1883-1953) had the opportunity to educate his Tamil readers constantly in the cultural unity of India imposed by a common past and common achievements. He reminds his readers of Indian achievement in the sciences, in medicine, in the fine arts and in statecraft. Asokan Dharma extended even to the Tamil kingdoms, and certain Indian Emperors conferred a kind of political unity to India long before the coming of the British. He exhorts the Tamils to patriotism and disinterested service of country like the other provinces of India, chiefly Bengal. He is at pains to gloss over irksome historical questions which accentuate differences between the Dravidians and the Aryans, and concludes compromisingly that the Dravidians and the Aryans combined to form one Indian people and one Indian culture. Perhaps both Tamil and Sanskrit are derived from the same original Prakrit speech found all over India.

"கங்கையும் யமுனையும் இரண்டற்று ஒன்றிக் கலந்து ஓடுவதுபோலத் திராவிடர் நாகரிகமும் ஆரியர் நாகரிகமும் ஒன்றுபட்டு நாட்டில் ஓடுகின்றன என்று கவி

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8. நாமக்கல் ராமலிங்கம், தமிழன் இதயம், தமிழ்த்தேன், மைலாப்பூர், 1956. பக். 16.

தாகூர் கூறியது ஈண்டு நினைவுக்கு வருகிறது. ஆகவே, முற்கால இந்தியர் யார் என்னுங்கேள்விக்கு என்ன விடை இறுப்பது? திராவிடரும் ஆரியருங்கலந்த ஓரினத்தவரே முற்கால இந்தியர் என்ற விடை இறுக்கலாம்."[9]

"இந்திய மொழிகளில் பழையது திராவிடம். அஃது இந்நாளில் இந்தியாவில் ஒரு பகுதியில் மட்டும் வளம் பெற்று நிற்கிறது. அதனிடத்தில் (நாடு முழுவதும்) பழமை பெற்று விளங்குவது சம்ஸ்கிருதம். இரண்டும் பிராகிருதத்தினின்று பிறந்தவை என்று கூறும் ஆராய்ச்சியாளருமுளர். அங்ஙனமாயின், பிராகிருதம் இந்தியாவின் தொன்மை மொழியாய்ப் பொலிந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும்."[10]

There was not in the Tamil country a greater admirer and disciple of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings than Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar. Through his writings, more than through the platform oratory of Congress politicians, the Tamil-reading people came to know of the doctrines of Gandhi and the greatness of the Indian contribution in contemporary and ancient India. His books on Mahatma Gandhi and Indian indépendence were standard sources of information for Tamil readers until better documented books were recently published on these subjects.

In the more recent period, even those not directly involved in political movements and social reform like the poet, Desigavinayagam Pillai (1876-1954) and the master of sweet Tamil prose, R. P. Sethu Pillai (1896-1961), should be counted among those writers who emphasised the cultural unity of India. Desiga-vinayagam Pillai took great pride in the religious

9, 10. திரு. வி. க. இந்தியாவின் விடுதலை, சாது அச்சுக் கூடம், சென்னை—14.

contribution of India, particularly in that of Hinduism and Buddhism, while Sethu Pillai found an all pervasive unity in Indian culture, and in religious pilgrimages which brought together the north and the south.

> "There are two Mathurais, one in the north, the other in the south; there were two Pataliputras, one in the north the other in the south; there is a Kasi in the north, a Tenkasi in the south". "Bharat" says Sethu Pillai, "is a land of ancient glory. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin there are several languages, several religions. Nevertheless the culture of India is one."[11]

LANGUAGE LOYALTY

These same writers who consistently advocated the unity of India and find inspiration in the culture and literature and political leadership emanating from other regions of India, are equally loyal to the ideas of the unique place of Tamil culture and Tamil literature, and will not suffer any displacement of Tamil either by Sanskrit or by any other language of India. Like India, Tamil too is ancient, begot by the Eternal Siva himself, and though ancient yet as young and fresh a Virgin as to attract the attention of the world. That in spite of its hoary antiquity, Tamil continues to be a living language of more than thirty million people spread over a large geographical area, a distinction of combined antiquity and modernity enjoyed by hardly any other language in the world, is a fact which has provided inspiration to the Tamil renaissance.

The extent and variety of Tamil literary works and their beauty are recurrent themes in Bharati and

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11. ரா. பி. சேதுப்பிள்ளை, தமிழ் இன்பம், பழனியப்பா பிரதர்ஸ், சென்னை—5.

in the poets and prose writers of the century. Subramaniya Bharati is as much Tamil as he is Indian. The *Mater Tamulica* is even nearer to him than the *Mater Indica*. His delirious joy is not only in the literary wealth of Tamil but also in the concept of Tamil Nad as a distinct linguistic entity with a historic past which included an overseas empire, and a historic propagation of commerce and culture in South East Asia. With the devotion of a bakthi poet, Bharati sings in no unmistakable terms:

> "Tamil Nad, thy name is honey to my ears".
> "Of languages I know, there's none sweeter than Tamil; of poets I know, there is none in the world so great as Kamban, as Valluvar, as Ilanko."
> "The epic, Silappatikaram, lies like a garland around Tamil Nad."

If Bharati had sung no verses other than these three most well-known poems on Tamil, he would yet be deserving of the title of poet, for these poems are of supreme lyrical beauty and honied sweetness.

> "The poems of sweet Tamil should be made known the world over."

> "Of what gain is the repetition of ancient tales merely in the privacy of Tamil gatherings? If ours is consummate learning and culture, the world outside should bow its head in reverence." [12]

"Tamil has the same historical status as Sanskrit, and Tamil can well be the vehicle of modern thought, and must be the medium of government and of education. Tamil Nad has been in the forefront even of Indian Renaissance; it gave recognition to Swami

12. Paraphrases of quotable lines from Bharati's Poems about Tamil.

Vivekananda even before Bengal gave him due recognition."[13]

RAMALINGAM'S DILEMMA

To Namakkal Ramalingam (1888-) there is hardly any virtue in which the Tamil has not distinguished himself and hardly any science or art for which Tamil Nad has not been famous. But the Tamils should imitate the language and culture patriotism of the Bengalees which gave the opportunity to Tagore. In verses supporting the demand for vocal recitals sung to Tamil words instead of to Telugu words, Ramalingam is outspoken in his language patriotism, which he says, intends no harm to any other language. The Tamil has welcomed every language which came into his country, but could he welcome movements which may result in the decline of his own arts?

" வந்தஎந்தப் பிறமொழிக்கும் வரவு கூறி
வகைசெய்து வாழ்வளித்து வரிசை யெல்லாம்
தந்தவர்கள் தமிழரைப்போல் வேறு யாரும்
தாரணியில் இணைசொல்லத் தகுவா ருண்டோ?
அந்தப்பெருங் குணத்திலின்னும் குறைவோ மில்லை.
ஆனாலும் தமிழினங்கள் வாழ வேண்டின்
சொந்தமொழிக் கலைகளெல்லாம் சுருங்கித் தேயப்
பார்த்திருந்து சோம்புவது அறிவோ சொல்வீர்?

" நாதமெனும் பிரமத்தைப் பணிவோம், ஆனால்
நாமறியா மொழியில்நமக் கேது நாதம்?
காதலால் தாய்மொழியைக் காப்ப தன்றிக்
கடுகளவும் பிறமொழிமேற் கடுப்ப தல்ல."[14]

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13 பாரதி நூல்கள். — பக்கம் 229.
ஆனால் அந்த நாகரிகத்தில் முதல் முதலாக இவ்விரண்டு பாஷைகளிலேதான் உயர்ந்த கவிதையும், இலக்கியங்களும், சாஸ்திரங்களும் ஏற்பட்டன. மற்ற பாஷைகளின் இலக்கிய நெறிகள் இவற்றுக்குப் பின்னே சமைந்தன. பல இடங்களில் இவை இயற்றின நடையையே முன் மாதிரியாகக் கொண்டன. அதாவது, ஆரியரும் தமிழருமே உலகத்தில் முதன்முதலாக உயர்ந்த நாகரிகப் பதவி பெற்ற ஜாதியார். இங்ஙனம் முதன்முதலாக நாகரிகம் பெற்ற இவ்விரண்டு வகுப்பினரும் மிகப்பழைய நாட்களிலேயே ஹிந்து மதம் என்ற கயிற்றால் கட்டுண்டு ஒரே கூட்டத்தாராகிய செய்தி பூமண்டலத்தில் சரித்திரத்திலேயே மிக விசேஷமும் நலமும் பொருந்திய செய்திகளில் ஒன்றாகக் கணித்தற்குரியது.

14. இராமலிங்கம் பிள்ளை, தமிழன் இதயம், தமிழ் இசை, அருணா பப்ளிகேஷன்ஸ், தியாகராயநகரம், சென்னை—16, பக். 158—159.

Ramalingam would repeat daily like a mantra "India is my country," but he would repeat as often with the same fervour and devotion, "Tamil Nad is my country":

" முத்தமிழ் நாடென்றன் முன்னையர் நாடு
முற்றிலும் சொந்தம் எனக்கெனப் பாடு."[15]

To those whose fear and consequent dislike of Hindi led to agitation, and the antagonism to Brahminism led to the burning of classics like the Ramayanam and to iconoclasticism, Ramalingam uses the argument of tolerance and the power of resistance inherent in the Tamil language for survival. Here his line of argument is different from the one he employed in the case of the use of Telugu words in vocal recitals. It is apparent that there is some sense of dilemma and hesitation, a refusal to face the problem fairly and squarely, but he is convinced that Hindi will not be imposed or introduced to the point at which it constitutes a danger to the survival, nay, to the highest development possible of Tamil. Further, he argues, the Tamil kingdoms were language and revenue kingdoms but Indian culture is one, and the Tamils were not separatists in the Indian situation. They have been most hospitable to ideas and influences even as their doors have been open to guests as Megasthenes has observed. Tamil grammar has legislated for the inclusion of loan words :

" தலைவாசற் கதவினுக்குத் தாள்பூட்டே
இல்லாத தமிழ்நா டென்று
பலதேசம் சுற்றிவந்த மகஸ்தனிசும்
புகழ்ந்துரைத்த பழைய நாடு "[16]

15. இராமலிங்கம் பிள்ளை, தமிழன் இதயம், என்னுடை நாடு. அருணா பப்ளிகேஷன்ஸ், தியாகராயநகரம், சென்னை—17, பக். 85

16. இராமலிங்கம் பிள்ளை. தமிழன் இதயம், தமிழ் நாடு எது? தமிழன் யார்?—அருணா பப்ளிகேஷன்ஸ், தியாகராய நகரம், சென்னை-17, பக். 107.

" ஈங்குவட இமயம்வரை இந்தியரின்
நாகரிகம் ஒன்றே யாகும்;
தாங்கள்ஒரு தனியென்று தடைபோட்டுத்
தருக்கினவர் தமிழர் அல்லர்.

"திசைச்சொல்லுக் கென்றுதனி இடங்கொடுத்தார்
இலக்கணத்தில் தெரிந்த முன்னோர்;
இசைச்சொல்ல இதைப்போல வேறுமொழிக்
கிலக்கண நூல் எங்கே? காட்டு. [17]

" இந்திமொழி வந்ததென்று இகழ்ந்துரைப்போர்
தமிழ்நாட்டின் பெருமை எண்ணார்."[18]

THE MATRIX OF CULTURE

The newspaper editorials and essays, and the platform addresses of Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar now published as collections under the titles of *Tamil Colai* and *Tamil Tentral* are clarion calls to a Tamil revival by the study of literature and culture, and compare Tamils' indifference to their mother-tongue with the deliberate progress achieved by speakers of other languages in Northern India. Over and over again Kalyanasundaranar recalls the characteristics of the Tamil language, its literature and its great achievements, and bemoans the lack of interest in the study of Tamil among educated English-speaking Tamils, and the incapacity of Tamil pundits to lead a Tamil renaissance. The study of the ancient Tamil classics will bring about a renaissance of the moral life and greater sensitivity to Truth, Justice and Ahimsa. If the Tamils are to attain once again the heights of glory reached by their ancestors, they will have to engage in several fields of activity. But the most

17-18 இராமலிங்கம் பிள்ளை, தமிழன் இதயம், தமிழ்நாடு எது? தமிழன் யார்?—அருணா பப்ளிகேஷன்ஸ், தியாகராய நகரம், சென்னை—17, பக். 108.

basic of these activities, and the one which should have priority is love of the mother-tongue or language patriotism. Look at other language groups in India. The Bangalees love their language. Love of the Mahrathi language is the basis of the Mahrathi service to their country. The Andhras are forging ahead in love of the mother-tongue. Would the Tamil Nad Congress deliver its welcome address at an All-India Congress session in Tamil as the Nagpur congress delivered its address in Hindi? Patriotism to India for the Tamils should have as its foundation the love of the Tamil language by the Tamils. If personalities like Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi have not appeared in Tamil Nad, it is because the Tamils do not love their own language. [19]

He does not object to Hindi as a common language for India, but he will not have it at the expense of Tamil. The love of Tamil is the basis of Tamil unity, since it is the common bond between the different religions and social groups of the Tamil country.

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19 "தாய் மொழியினிடத்துப் பற்றின்றி நாட்டுக்கு உரிமை பெற முயல்வது கானற்சலத்தை நாடி ஓடினவன் கதையாக முடியும். உரிமைக்காக மிகப் பரிந்து உழைக்குங் காங்கிரஸாவது தமிழ்வளங் கருதி உழைக்கிறதா? ஹிந்தி பாஷையை வளர்ப்பதைப் பற்றி நாம் குறை கூறவில்லை. பாரத நாட்டுக்கே பொதுமொழியாக ஹிந்தி நிலவ வேண்டுமென்று நாமுங் கூறுகிறோம். இதனால் தாய்மொழியாகிய தமிழைக் கொலை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று எவருங் கூறார். மயிலாபபூரில் ஒரு ஹிந்திக் கல்லூரி திறக்கப் பட்டது. அதன் திறபபு விழா அழைப்பு நமக்கு வந்தது. அதன் கண் ஒரு பக்கம் ஆங்கிலமும் மற்றொரு பக்கம் ஹிந்தியும் பொலிவதைக் கண்டேம். 'தமிழும் ஹிந்தியும் ஏன் அவ்வழைப்புத் தாளில் திகழலாகாது?' என்று எண்ணினோம். தமிழ் நாட்டில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர் இனியாவது தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கென உழைக்க முன் வருவாரோ என்று கூவி அடங்குகிறோம்.

"தமிழ்ப் பண்டிதர்கள் ஒன்றுபட்டுத் தமிழை வளர்ப்பது இந்த யுகத்தில் இல்லை. காரணங்கள் கூறின் மிக விரியும். தற்கால நாகரிக உணர்வுடைய சில தமிழ் மக்கள் தமிழ் நாட்டில் வதிகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் ஒன்று கூடித் தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆங்காங்கே கழகங்கள் கண்டு உழைப்பார்களாக.

"தாய் மொழி வளராத நாடு ஒரு நாளும் உரிமை பெறாது. தாய் மொழி நாட்டம் உரிமை நாட்டமாகும். உரிமைக்கு முதற்படி தாய் மொழியோம்பும் முயற்சி. தமிழ் நாட்டார் தாய் மொழிமீது கருத்தைச் செலுத்துவாராக." (12-10-1924)

—திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச்சோலை அல்லது கட்டுரைத் திரட்டு (முதற் பகுதி), சாது அச்சுக் கூடம், மயிலாப்பூர், சென்னை—4. 1959, பக்கம் 21.

If there be any movements to weaken interest in Tamil or to destroy it, such movements can bring no good to the country. If independence for India be our aim, we should first of all win independence for the Tamil language. Let Tamils unite to reveal the beauty of the Tamil Mother, of the Tamil Queen, of the Tamil Goddess.

The Tamil Nad constitutes a Nation within the larger Indian Nation. Says Kalyanasundaranar :

> "தமிழ் நாடு என்றால் என்ன என்பதைப் பற்றி இரண்டோர் உரை பகர்கிறேன். தமிழ் என்பது நமது தாய் மொழி. நாடு என்பதற்கு ஆங்கிலத்தில் Land என்று மொழி பெயர்க்கிறார் சிலர். அது கூடாது. 'தமிழ் நாடு' என்பதற்கு 'Tamil Nation' என்று சொல்வேன். 'Nation என்பதற்குத் தமிழென்ன?' என்று சிலர் என்னைக் கேட்பதுண்டு. யான் 'நாடு' என்று சொல்லுவது வழக்கம். மனிதர்களின் பழக்க வழக்கம், கல்வி, அரசு, வாழ்வு, வீரம் இவைகள் எல்லாஞ் சேர்ந்த ஒன்றற்கு 'நாடு' என்று பெயர். இப்பொழுது இவைகளில் நமக்கு என்னென்ன இருக்கின்றன? நமக்கு இப்பொழுது நாடு உண்டோ? நாம் நாடு அற்றவர்களாக இருக்கிறோம். காரணம் என்ன? தாய்மொழியினிடத்தில் இடையறாத காதல் செலுத்தாமையாகும்." [20]

20. "நாட்டைப் பண்படுத்தும் கருவிகள் பல, அவைகளுள் சிறந்தது மொழி. ஆதலால் நாட்டவர்க்கு மொழிப்பற்று, இன்றியமையாதது. தமிழ் நாட்டில் திலகர் பெருமான், காந்தியடிகள் போன்ற தேசபக்தர்கள் தோன்றாமைக்குக் காரணம் தமிழர்களின் மொழிப் பற்றின்மையேயாகும்.

"வங்காளிகள் வங்க மொழியில் அளவிறந்த காதல் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். மஹாராஷ்டிரர் தம் மொழியில் பற்றுக்கொண்டே தேச சேவை செய்கின்றனர். அமிர்தசரஸ் காங்கிரஸ் வரவேற்பும் உபந்யாசமும் எம்மொழியில் நடைபெற்றன? ஹிந்தி ஹிந்துஸ்தானி பாஷைகளில் நடைபெற்றன. தமிழ் நாட்டில் காங்கிரஸ் கூடின், தமிழில் வரவேற்பு உபந்யாசம் நிகழப்பெறுமோ? மொழியினிடத்துப் பற்றில்லாதார் தேச சேவை, இடம்பத்தை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டதாக முடியும்."—திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை அல்லது கட்டுரைத் திரட்டு, முதற்பகுதி, சாது அச்சுக் கூடம், மயிலாப்பூர், சென்னை—4, 1959. பக். 9.

The reason why a renaissance and development of everything Tamil is founded by Kalyanasundaranar and other writers on the Tamil language is the underlying conviction, not so clearly expressed, perhaps, that language is the matrix of culture in general, but with Tamil, most of the heritage is literary, and hence it is the literature which mainly conserves the well-springs of inspiration. By literature here should be meant also vocal music, dance drama using Tamil words, the epigraphy recalling the achievements of Tamil dynasties, and, above all, the religious and devotional books of the different religionists of the Tamil country. If language be neglected, the literature is not made familiar; and if the literature be not familiar, the people lose touch with the sources of their religion, their history, their culture, and the main source of their identity as a group. A Tamil without his language ceases to be a Tamil. [21]

"தமிழை அழிப்பது தமிழரை அழிப்பது"

—பாரதி தாசன்

DRAVIDIAN MOVEMENTS AND REGIONALISM

There is, however, another school of writers, whose dual loyalty is to the Tamil country, and to the concept of Dravidastan. They hardly ever speak of any loyalty due to India, though they do write of internationalism and loyalty to the One World ideal which is an Ancient Tamil ideal. Bharati Dasan (1891-) is the poet of this movement and Kanna

21. T. S. Eliot says with regard to the intrinsic identification between cultures: "It must be remembered that for thet ransmission of a culture - a peculiar way of thinking, feeling and behaving - and for its maintenance, there is no safeguard more reliable than a language. And to survive for this purpose it must continue to be a literary language - not necessarily a scientific language, but certainly a poetic one; otherwise the spread of education will extinguish it."

Dasan (1927-) and Mudiyarasan are youthful seconds.[22]

Bharati Dasan even works out in verse the geological and geographical justifications for the idea of a separate Dravidian state, and pictures the Himalayan orography and Tethys sea of the Eocene period. Time was when the Vindhyas marked the northern boundary of a Dravidian continent, and the ocean waves rolled where now the Himalayas and Northern India stand. The Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea did not then exist. A continent extended from the now Southern India to Australia and Africa. The Himalayas were thrown up by a geological upheaval and hence the area from the Vindhyas to the Himalayas became a land mass, and the displaced water formed the Arabian and Bengal seas.[23] Beyond mentioning the names of Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, and Tulu, as the constituents of Dravidastan there is hardly any further delineation of this projected state which has never existed as such in history, but which has a certain language and cultural basis. One surmises that the Dravidian union is projected merely to make a viable state, in opposition to the North Indian Aryan language speaking provinces. But the devotion to the concept of Tamil Nad, to the Tamil Mother and to the Tamil language, is a passion with Bharati Dasan, and the other Dravidastan movement writers, whether Dravida Kazhakam or Dravida Munnetra Kazhakam.

22. For the political background of this group, see SELIG S. HARRISON, *India, the Most dangerous decades*, Oxford University Press, 1960, LLOYD I. RUDOLPH, *Urban Life and Populist Radicalism, Dravidian Politics in Madras*, in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XX, No. 3, (May, 1961).

23. "அடடே! வடபெருங் குன்றமும் இல்லை
அவ்விடம் நீர்ப்பரப்பு - ஆழ்கடல் உள்ளதே
அப்பெருங் கடல்அலை, அழகிய விந்திய
வெற்பின் வடபுறத்து விளையா டினவே.
மேற்கு - அரபிக்கடல் கிழக்குவங் கக்கடல்
இல்லை என்ன வியப்பு இது!"

A great volume of Bharati Dasan's poetry consists in positive effusions of love and loyalty to the Tamil Mother and Virgin. Some of the poetry is exquisite and may be ranked with the best of Subramanya Bharati himself. Unalloyed Tamil words convey the sense with effortless charm. Bharati Dasan is concerned with the "Northerners" and the Brahmins, only to revile them, because they represent the Aryan tradition and the economic and social Aryan domination of the Tamil country.

"What joy, what joy to be able to say I am not an Aryan!"

"ஆரியன் அல்லேன் என்னும் போதில்
எத்தனை மகிழ்ச்சி! எத்தனை மகிழ்ச்சி!"[24]

Those who do not speak Dravidian tongues are alien.

"அயல்என்று கொட்டுக முரசே! உறவான
திராவிடர் அல்லார்."[25]

Though the Dravidian peoples are different by name they are united by birth.

"பெயரினால் வேறுபட்டீர் மக்களே! நீங்கள்
பிறப்பினால் ஒன்றுபட்டீர்."[26]

As a general policy the Dravidastan school of poets repudiate even the Tamil literature originating or seeking inspiration from Sanskritic source; their hero is not the Rama of the north, but the Ravana of the south. There is suspicion and distrust of all political movements and economic development schemes originating from the north.

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24. பாரதிதாசன், பாரதிதாசன் கவிதைகள், இரண்டாம் தொகுதி, இளம்பெயர், பாரி நிலையம், சென்னை-1, 1958, பக்கம் 92.
25. பாரதிதாசன், இசையமுது 1, "தமிழர் முரசு", பக்கம் 36.
26. பாரதிதாசன், குயில் (3-ஆம் தொகுப்பு), "சென்னை பற்றிச் சண்டையா!" பக்கம் 8.

"பொங்கும் வடநாட்டுப் பொய்யும் புனைசுருட்டும்
எங்கும் தலைவிரித்தே இன்னல் விளைத்தனவே."
—பாரதி தாசன் (3)

While Bhàrati Dasan is less articulate now in his seventies, Kanna Dasan who has been reared in the same tradition, has topical poems on the dangers of Hindi and the need to protect Tamil. These dangers come, he says, because of a hostile Central Government, and state ministers who are subservient to the Centre. If the Tamils had their own state, would these impositions be possible from a Centre?

"நடுவரசின் பதவிக்கே இந்தி வேண்டும்
நாட்டோரே கற்கவெனச் சென்னை ஆளும்
கெடுவரசின் அமைச்சரவர் கிளத்துகின்றார்.
கேட்கின்றோம், நெஞ்செரியத் தமிழ நாட்டீர்!
நடுவரசு நமக்கிருந்தால் இந்தி ஏது?

* * *

கடுமொழியில் கேட்கின்ற கழகமல்லால்
கண்ணகியின் கால்வழியோர் யார்கேட் டார்கள்?"[27]

Radicalist writers like Bharati Dasan and Kanna Dasan and a host of young writers and poets, not all of the Dravidastan school, find in Hindi and "northern domination," reasons to conjure up a demonology threatening the survival of Tamil. The output of verse and prose in defence of Tamil against dangers, real and imaginary, has been considerable during the last two decades. Some of the verses are frankly anti-demonological, and call on the Tamil speakers to take up their swords in their hands, and bathe them in the blood of Hindi in the south. In the process of warning the Tamils of actual and potential dangers, the poets make senseless ridicule of Hindi sounds and shapes of letters, ridicule which might win applause from the undiscerning and the uneducated.

27. கவிஞர் கண்ணதாசன், கவிதைகள், பக்கம் 115.

" நகரவிடா தேவானைக் கரத்தில் தூக்கு
நாய்க்குலத்தின் குருதியிலே தமிழ்கு ளிக்கும்.
"லம்பாடி லம்பாடி லம்பா டிப்பேய்
நாய் குரைத்த ஓசையிலே பிறந்த பாடை;
கொம்பொன்று போடாமல் தொங்க வொண்ணுக்
குரங்கெழுத்தைக் கொண்டமொழி 'ஹைஹை' என்று
நம்நாட்டில் குதிரைகளை ஓட்டும் சொல்லை
நலுங்காமல் எடுத்துப்போய் வினைச்சொல் லாக்கித்
தெம்போடு வாழ்வதற்கு மேலும் வார்த்தை
தேடியவா றலைகின்ற தெருப்பொ றுக்கி" [28]

Mudiyarasan has no prejudice against any other languages. He will learn other languages but not at the expense of Tamil, and not until he has an adequate knowledge of his own Mother-tongue. [29] But the quality of poetry of the Dravidian school showing positive love of Tamil is frankly inspirational. The defence literature on behalf of Tamil, even when written by those not affiliated with Dravidastan movements, tends to be regional. Pan-Indian sentiments and loyalties are not found in them.

How literary productions can increase in quality and quantity under a threat to the Mother-tongue was seen during the civil dis-obedience campaign in 1961 conducted in the traditional homelands of the Tamils of Ceylon. The campaign all over the North and East of the island assumed a religious and bakthi character. Men and women, and children of all ages sat through the day and night under most trying conditions in penitential and expiatory mood,

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28. கவிஞர் கண்ணதாசன், கண்ணதாசன் கவிதைகள், பக்கம் 116.
"பிறமொழியை வெறுக்கின்றேன் என்று சொல்லிப்
பிழையாகக் கருதாதீர்; தமிழை யீங்கு
மறுவறநன் குணர்ந்ததறபின் பயில்க என்பேன்."

29. முடியரசன் கவிதைகள், மொழியுணர்ச்சி, பாரி நிலையம், சென்னை-1, பக். 122.

hoping to assert their moral and legal rights to language by such demonstrations. And almost over-night poets sprang up from the towns and country-side, and published their verses and hymns which became the inspiration of those engaged in the move-ment.

SUMMARY

The Mother India concept is therefore less noted in the Tamil literature subsequent to the constitution of India as an independent state. So long as the independence of India had to be won, that concept was kept constantly alive. But now that the chains which bound Mother India have been broken and she has been raised to her independent throne, the pre-occupation of Tamil poets and writers is with the status to be accorded to the *Mater et Virgo Tamulica.* The potential dangers to her life, are deemed to be many, and these engage the thoughts of Tamil writers. Compulsory Hindi is deemed to be a danger; non-sym-pathetic Brahmins with their introduction of Sanskrit words and Sanskrit sounds are supposed to be others. The political overlordship of Delhi, and the All-India Sanskritising Hindi ising movements are supposed to create conflicts and tensions.

Recent writing, even of those who are for India one and undivided, has shown some stress and tension, and some apprehension concerning the future of Tamil. Novels like *Kadal Kanda Kanavu* by Somu continue to extol the Tamil heritage and revel with delirious delight in everything concerning the Tamil revival. One cannot help feeling that this tension and conflict on the part of the majority of writers is not due to any lack of love for a Mother India concept, but due to apprehensions concerning what the adherents of the

"Mother India equals Mother Hindi" concept might do to Mother Tamil.

The protective and defence literature of Tamil has increased in volume and intensity during the modern periods when Tamil seemed to be beleagured in favour of Sanskrit or Hindi. The movement for Indian Independence (1918-1947) evoked loyalty and patriotism towards both Mother India and Mother Tamil. During the period of the Anti-Hindi agitation a great deal of literature was produced extolling the virtues of Mother Tamil. Opposition to the Tamil Isai (music) movement from Brahmin patrons of music evoked further literature in favour of a Tamil Renais sance. In examining twentieth century literature, it becomes apparent that regional nationalism has increased in the measure there was opposition, real or imaginary to the Tamil Renaissance, and Indian nationalism has decreased in Tamil writing in proportion to the movements for compulsory Hindi and the fear that an All India language as the means of unity and unification might eventually displace Tamil.

Bharati and Shelley

V. SACHITHANANDAN

Of all the English poets Shelley was nearest to Bharati's heart. His spirit of rebellion against the tyranny of established institutions, his revolutionary ardour, his championship of women and above all his idealism greatly appealed to the imagination of the Tamil poet. Bharati's reverence for Shelley was so great that he called himself *Shelley Dasan*,[1] and under that pseudonym wrote many fiery articles in defence of his cherished ideals which offended vested interests in his society. His affection for and admiration of his idol resulted in his founding a Shelleyan Guild at his[2] birthplace, Ettaiyapuram. According to tradition Bharati used to teach the members of the Guild Shelley's poems and expatiate on the beauties of his poetry.

David Masson observes that "the whole life of Shelley had been a war against custom". [3] Since his Eton days, he literally shrieked against established systems, and unable to bear the onslaughts of his countrymen against his provocative writings and also morals, he went into voluntary exile and spent the rest of his short span of life in Italy. With the never flagging zeal for reforms, Shelley continued his crusade against society until his tragic death.

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1. Bharati calls Shelley, Poet of poets—*Bharati Tamil*, p. 441. In his short story *Kantamani* there is a direct quotation from Shelley. Ibid. p. 270.

2. P. Mahadeven, *Subramaniya Bharati*, p. 27 Also see Sellammal Bharati, *Bharati Charitram*, p. 21.

3. David Masson, *Shelley. Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and other Essays*, p. 110.

Shelley said that he had "a passion for reforming the world". As a reformer he believed in "the salvation and pefection of mankind by way of an absolute breach with the East".[4] He scoffed at all institutions and customs which were responsible for the wrongs and corruptions that beset society. Kings, priests and statesmen who had poisoned the very vitals of society had to be dispensed with :

> "Kings, priests and statesmen blast the human flower
> Even in its tender bud; their influence darts
> Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins
> Of desolate society." [5]

When the conditions envisaged by the poet were fulfilled, there would begin a new era, the Golden Age to which Shelley has given eloquent expression in a number of his poems like *Queen Mab*, *Prometheus Unbound, The Witch of Atlas* and *Hellas*.

Bharati's advocacy of drastic social reforms was evidently inspired by the Shelleyan gospel. The influence of the English poet can be traced in Bharati's violent hatred of tyranny, his bitter attacks on priesthood, his tireless plea for an exalted treatment of women and his noble vision ef *Treta Yuga* or the Golden Age.

According to Shelley there were two classes of tyrants, kings and priests who usurped power and enslaved people whose abject submission confirmed the wrongful authority of the tyrants. But ,it is the king whom Shelley denounces, not the man, because he is an instrument of evil. The subject also is equally despicable because of his passive obedience to

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4. *Sir Walter Raleigh, Shelley, Authors*, p. 290.
5. Queen *Mab*, IV. ll. 104-107.

tyranny.[6] Shelley's conception of the tyrant was inspired by Plato's grim presentation of the soul of the tyrant in *The Republic.*[7] He paints the tyrant in lurid colours in *The Revolt of Islam.*[8] According to him the country ruled over by a tyrant is no better than a waste land.

To Bharati the tyrant is a Hiranya, a godless and soulless monster, whose modern counterpart is the last Czar of Russia, Nicholas II, whose fall is celebrated in the poem New Russia (புது ருஷியா). The poem bears definite traces of the influence of Shelley's '*Ode to Liberty*' and Byron's '*Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*'. The opening lines of the poem on Russia,

"மாகாளி பராசக்தி உருசியநாட்
டினிற்கடைக்கண் வைத்தாள். அங்கே
ஆகாவென் றெழுந்ததுபார் யுகப்புரட்சி!"

are as spirited and full of fire as the first stanza of '*Ode to Liberty*':

"A Glorious people vibrated again
The lightning of the nations: Liberty
From heart to heart, from tower to tower, o'er Spain,
Scattering contagious fire into the sky,
Gleamed."

Shelley's poem was inspired by the news of the success of the Russian Revolution and the fall of the Czar in 1917. The poem on the *New Russia* is really an ode to liberty.

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6. (i) Floyd Stovall, *Shelley's Doctrine of Love*, PMLA, 1930. pp. 283-303.
(ii) *Queen Mab.* III, ll. 170-180.

7. L. Winstanley 'Platonism in Shelley.' *Essays and Studies*, Vol. IV. 1913.

8. Cf. Canto V of *The Revolt of Islam.*

According to Neville Rogers, "Monarch' and 'king' come second only perhaps to 'anarch' among his (Shelley's) terms of opprobrium". [9] A typical example is the well known passage in *'Ode to Liberty'*.

"Oh, that the free would stamp the impious name
Of KING into the dust!"

Bharati is equally violent in his denunciation of the Czar whom he calls 'கொடுங்கோலன்', 'பாவி' and 'மூடன்'. He paints a frightful picture of the tyrant converting Russia into a land of misery, disease and oppression. The only dharma he recognized was tyranny. Bharati unlike Shelley who was extremely sceptical of divine intervention, believed that it was the Goddess Parasakti who destroyed the tyrant and rescued lovers of truth from his cruel hands ;

"செம்மையெலாம் பாழாகிக் கொடுமையே
அறமாகித் தீர்ந்த போதில்,
அம்மைமனங் கனிந்திட்டாள்; அடிபரவி
உண்மைசொலும் அடியார் தம்மை
மும்மையிலும் காத்திடுநல் விழியாலே
நோக்கினாள்; முடிந்தான் காலன்!"

It is interesting to note here that both Shelley and Bharati employ the image of the serpent to express their revulsion to kingship. According to Bharati in the land of the tyrant falsehood, deceit and evil were breeding like snakes in a jungle:

"பொய்சூது தீமை யெல்லாம்
அரணியத்திற் பாம்புகள்போல் மலிந்துவளர்ந்
தோங்கினவே அந்த நாட்டில்."

Shelley speaks of "cutting the snaky knots of this foul gordian word called king". To Bharati, tyrant king

9. Neville Rogers : *Shelley At work : A critical Inquiry* p. 313.

of Russia, breeds poison. To Shelley the very word "king" is deadly poison.

Shelley's view of priesthood is clearly seen in the following stanza from the '*Ode to Liberty*':

> "Oh, that the wise from their bright minds would kindle
> Such lamps within the dome of this dim world.
> That the pale name of PRIEST might shrink and dwindle
> Into the hell from which it first was hurled..."

"'Bright minds...lamps...dome'—the array of symbols set in antithesis convey with great precision exactly what the hated word meant to Shelley; something risen from the realms of darkness for which there was no place in the temple of Intellectual Beauty".[10] It has been pointed out by Neville Rogers that Shelley's attitude to priests was permanently influenced by the views of Diderot and his school.

The same blind hatred of priesthood is not found in the writings of Bharati. His attacks on priests are however bitter. He charges them with pious hypocrisy and cupidity.[12] Their gross materialism, he believes, is responsible for their bad name among people. Like Shelley, Bharati feels that priests have the base motive of enslaving people permanently. He warns that there will be no divinity in those who attempt to make others their slaves.[12] But it should be admitted that Bharati, unlike Shelley who had no faith in priesthood at all, was genuinely interested in reforming the institution and making it a useful part of a theistic society. His bitter remarks may be taken

10. Neville Rogers: *Shelley at work : A critical Inquiry.* p.317.
11. *Bharati Tamil.* p. 179.
12. *Philosophy.* p. 4.

as the result of his painful disappointment over the failure of the priests to fulfil their duty as he conceived it. A stout opponent of untouchability, Bharati puts in a bold plea that Hindu priests, imitating Christian missionaries, should establish schools in *cheris*; they should not forget that pariahs and panchamas are Hindus and they should teach them the basic tenets of Hinduism.[13] It may be pointed out that Bharati's exaggerated faith in the essential goodness of Hindu priests outruns his discretion when he tries to maintain that they are more upright and orthodox than the priests in Europe.[14]

Bharati's 'புதுமைப் பெண்' is the legitimate successor of Shelley's 'new woman' embodied in his heroines from Cyntha to Emilia. Bharati was ahead of his time in the position he assigned to women in Indian society. His profound belief in the Shakti cult and his reading of Shelley inspired him to treat women with reverence and revolutionary ardour. To him woman is a goddess, Shakti, Lakshmi or Saraswati.[15] It is Shakti who assumes the role of mother or wife to protect man.[16] Woman is the very embodiment of Dharma.[17] Shelley's Cythna is the first 'new woman' in English poetry.[18] She is wiser and more intelligent than Laon and it is she, not Laon, who is endowed with intellectual qualities to reform the world. "She is a type that modern revolutions have made familiar, the woman in the heart of the storm, at the head of the crowd, diffusing the joy of devotion".[19] It is this new woman who is summoned to

13. *Society*. pp. 87-88.
14. Ibid, pp. 207-209.
15. Ibid. p. 4.
16. Ibid. p. 78.
17. *Stories of Bharati*. p. 347.
18. Edmund Blunden: *Shelley : A Life Story*, p. 165.
19. A. M. D. Hughes : *The Nascent Mind of Shelley*, p. 210.

the cave of Demogorgon and who shows him "what he has to teach".[20] She is Faith, Hope and Charity as revealed in Panthea, Ione and Asia respectively. She knows the efficacy of love and the value of forgiveness. She is Intellectual Beauty. "From *Queen Mab* to *Hellas* she waits and watches in unwavering hope for the triumph of the good cause, either in her mortal form, or translated, like Asia and the Lady of Atlas, to the rank of the intermediary between Men and Gods".[21] Such is the glory of the new woman in the poetry of Shelley.

The heroine of Bharati's poem 'புதுமைப் பெண்' incorporates the main characteristics of Shelley's revolutionary women. The New Woman is an avatar of Parasakti born into this world to reform it and to make men immortal.[22] The witch of Atlas is

> "A lovely lady garmented in light
> From her own beauty......"

There is something unearthly in "the excessive brilliance of her beauty"[23] which she has inherited from her father, the Sun. The New Woman of Bharati, though of divine origin, is of the earth and she is an exquisite lotus of rare beauty in the midst of corruption;

> " சேற்றி லேபுதி தாக முளைத்ததோர்
> செய்ய தாமரைத் தேமலர் போலொளி
> தோற்றி நின்றனை பாரத நாட்டிலே."

Some of the new ideas which Bharati's ideal woman propagates are derived from *The Revolt of Islam*. Laon tells his sweet heart in emphatic terms,

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20. *Prometheus Unbound*, II, iv.
21. *Hughes*, p. 210.
22. *Pudumai Penn*, 10.
23. Milton Wilson: *Shelley's Later Poetry*, p. 262.

"Never will peace and human nature meet
Till free and equal man and woman greet
Domestic peace..........."[24]

According to the New Woman of Bharati, equality of man and woman alone will make the world prosperous and wise:

" ஆணும் பெண்ணும் நிகரெனக் கொள்வதால்
அறிவி லோங்கிஇவ் வையம் தழைக்குமாம்."

In an essay Bharati asserts that without domestic freedom, there is no national freedom.[25] So equality of the sexes, according to the poets, should be observed both at home and abroad. Laon claims that his sacred union with Cyntha has filled him with wisdom. She combines in herself the sterling qualities of a hero, the mildness of a woman and the simplicity of a child.[26]

According to the hoary traditions of Tamil literature, the four qualities of the ideal woman are அச்சம் (fear), நாணம் (coyness), மடம் (artlessness) and பயிர்ப்பு (modesty). Bharati denounces in strong terms the first two as not being worthy of the new woman. The poet's silent omission of the other two qualities amounts to a tacit approval of their being among the characteristics of his heroine. Bharati's ideal woman stands for wisdom, truth, heroism and freedom.[27] The sweetness of her voice when she speaks of freedom for her down trodden sisters is described thus:

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24. *The Revolt of Islam*: II, xxxvii.
25. *Society*, p. 44.
26. *The Revolt of Islam*, II, xxxii.
27. The veiled - maid of the poet's dreams in Alastor also bears a close resemblance to Bharati's new woman: Knowledge and truth and virtue were her theme and lofty hopes of divine liberty...

"மாதர்க் குண்டு சுதந்திரம் என்றுநின்
வண்மலர்த்திரு வாயின் மொழிந்தசொல்
நாதந் தானது நாரதர் வீணையோ?
நம்பி ரான்கண்ணன் வேய்ங்குழ லின்பமோ?"

Her voice uttering the accents of freedom sounds like celestial music to the poet. The same quality of thrilling mystery is discernible in the voice of Cyntha when she sings hymns to Freedom specially composed by Laon and in his words,

"She would arise, and, like the secret bird
Whom sunset wakens, fill the shore and sky
With her sweet accents - a wild melody!
Hymns which my soul had woven to Freedom...
....
Triumphant strains, which, like a spirit's tongue,
To the enchanted waves that child of glory sung." [28]

Shelley's ideal woman sometimes assumes superhuman forms like Asia and the Witch of Atlas. Certain delineations of Bharati's ideal woman reveal the same characteristic. His portrait of Sister Nivedita bears a strong resemblance to the Lady of Atlas. The qualities which Bharati bestows on Nivedita are the qualities of a goddess almost resembling his favourite deity Shakti. But her resemblance to the woman of Atlas may be noted. The Witch is of divine birth, her father being the Sun and her mother being "one of the Atlantides".[29] Nivedita is "the temple of love". It is nothing but divine "gentleness and power" which attract all beings including the poet towards her. As for the Lady of Atlas,

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28. *Revolt*, II, xxviii.
29. Milton Wilson, p. 260.

"......her voice was heard like love, and drew
All living things towards this wonder new."

Nivedita is like the radiant sun that drives out the darkness of ignorance from the heart of the poet. She is wisdom personified. The beauty of the Witch of Atlas "made the bright world dim" and she is "Wisdom's wizard".

Droupadi and Kannamma smell of the sweet fragrance of Emilia. The original of the heroine of *Epipsychidion* is an Italian woman Emilia Viviani and the two elements, one ideal and the other real, seem to meet in Shelley's portrait. Emilia is Shelley's conception of Beauty and she is also the Italian woman. There is more in her than these two traits. She is a lineal descendant of all the ideal women Shelley created in his poetic dreams and all the real women whom he knew in life: [30]

"Seraph of Heaven! too gentle to be human,
Veiling beneath the radiant form of Woman
All that is insupportable in thee
Of light and love and immortality!
Sweet Benediction in the eternal Curse!
Veiled glory of this lampless Universe!
Thou Moon beyond the clouds! Thou living Form
Among the Dead! Thou Star above the Storm!
Thou Wonder and thou Beauty, and thou Terror!"[31]

She is a "Sweet Lamp......A Lovely soul formed to be blessed and bless". She is also

"A Lute, which those whom Love has taught to play
Make music on, to soothe the roughest day
And lull fond Grief asleep........"[32]

30. *Neville Rogers*, p. 128.
31. *Epipsychidion*, ll. 21-29.
32. Ibid. l. 65 f.

There is a subtle blending of the ideal and the real in the portrait of Panchali. The highest ideas of Sweetness, Joy, Beauty, Love and Immortality have gone into her making. Yet her portrait loses none of the splendour of the earth. She rises from the earth in full glory and reaches the heavens in complete majesty.[33]

Emilia is identified with many forms of nature like woods, fountains, flowers and breezes. Her voice is heard in sounds and in silence.[34] Kannamma, another divine creature, like Emilia, manifests herself in the same fashion to the Tamil poet. She is Sun and Moon and Sky and Stars to the starving poet. Further, Kannamma is also a cosmic manifestation.[35]

Shelley's heroines have been described as visionary, unsubstantial and ethereal and like his own skylark they are said to scorn the ground. That is because they are the delicate products of the Ariel-like imagination of the poet. This gossamer-like delicacy is part of the make-up of the ideal women of Bharati. But a happy blending of the sensuous and the supersensuous elements has given them a deflnite form which is within the grasp of the reader's imagination.

Carlos Baker in a brillant study has made out that Shelley uses in his poems what the writer calls "Psyche-epipsyche strategy".[36] Its basic idea can be traced to the "Symposium" and "Phaedrus" of Plato.[37] This strategy is described in Shelleyan

33. *Panchali Sabatham*, II, iv. 243 & 244.
34. *Epipsychidion*, ll. 200–209.
35. *Kannamma En Kathali*, 16 & 17.
36. Shelley's Major Poetry: *The Fabric of a Vision*, p. 53.
37. According to Socrates, "Love is of something and desires something which he does not possess in himself"-"Symposium-" Jowett translation. See also the discussion on Lover in "Phaused".

language thus: "The mind (psyche) imaginatively creates or envisions what it does not have (epipsyche), and then seeks to possess epipsyche, to move towards a goal". Epipsyche has been called "the soul within the soul" by Shelley and the best illustration of the "psyche - epipsyche strategy" is found in *Epipsychidion.* The poem describes the poet's quest of his ideal - "a special kind of complementary being" or "love which activates in man the higher forms of creativity". Love is nothing but the spiritual union of the soul and the thing which it loves.

The basic assumption of the songs on *Kannamma* and of the *Kuyil Pattu* is the quest motive. They describe in moving terms the passionate search of the poetic mind (psyche) for the possession of what it does not have (epipsyche) and so imaginatively creates. *Kannamma* and the *Bird-Woman* stand for the poet's highest ideals of Beauty and Love. Beauty of Love is the supreme essence which is loved by the soul. The poems record the infinite longing of the soul to unite with the essence. When the final union takes place, the highest bliss is experienced. That is the profound significance of the passionate outpourings of the lover of *Kannamma* and the *Kuyil.* The poet's passionate longing to realise his visioned ideal is beautifully expressed in a little known poem:[38]

" I loved - Oh, no, I mean not one of ye,
Or any earthly one, though ye are dear
As human heart to human heart may be; -
I loved, I know not what - but this low sphere
And all that it contains, contains not thee.
Thou, whom, seen nowhere, I feel everywhere."

38. *The Zucca,* III.

From the 'new woman' to the millennium is a natural transition because to Shelley "a beautiful woman was a symbol of the millennium, and the millennium meant the society of beautiful women".[39] Shelley sings of the Golden Age in a number of poems.[40] The earliest version is found in *Queen Mab.* A spirit called Necessity controls the destiny of the world. She is unlike "the God of human error" and she requires "no prayers or praises".[40] Error and vice have bedevilled man in the past and his future salvation lies in reason and virtue. The new era begins when he enters into a partnership with "the spirit of Nature acting necessarily".[41] Then the frozen polar region will become a fertile land. Sandy deserts will

> "...teem with countless rills and shady woods,
> Cornfields and pastures and white cottages."
>
> (VIII, ll. 75-76)

"Consentaneous love" will inspire the living world. The lion will dandle the lamb in its paws. One of the blessings of the Golden Age is that man will give up the horrid habit of devouring flesh, the source of "all putrid humours...all evil passions and all vain belief".[42] Man will stand "an equal amidst equals". Happiness and science will dawn on the realm of peace. Care, sorrow, languor, disease and ignorance will not visit the earth. Cathedrals and palaces will fall. Finally,

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39. A. Clutton - Brock. *Shelley: The Man and the Poet*, p. 86.
40. *Queen Mab*, VIII and IX; *The Revolt of Islam*, IV & V; *Prometheus Uubound*, III, iv; *The Witch of Atlas*, LXXV-LXXVII. and *Hellas*, 1.106 f.
41. Dowden: *Life of Shelley*, p. 180.
42. *Queen Mab*, VIII, 1.215 f.

"Woman and man, in confidence and love,
Equal and free and pure together trod
The mountain-paths of virtue, which no more
Were stained with blood from many a pilgrim's
feet." (IX, ll. 89-92)

These essential ideas of Shelley's about the millennium did not undergo any drastic change during the years of his poetic development. However a significant change may be noted. The rank atheistic utterance found in *Queen Mab* underwent a sea-change until they ended in "a theism or a belief in a Supreme Mind"[43] which is evident throughout *Hellas* and in the following lines in *The Boat on the Serchio* :

"All rose to do the task He set to each,
Who shaped us to His ends and not our own."

Complete freedom, happiness, health, equality, love and peace are the prominent features of Shelley's new world which cannot be formed overnight, but is the result of a long process of evolution.

Bharati's conception of what he calls the *Kruda Yuga* [44] or the new age of hope has many things in common with the millennium visualised by Shelley. Freedom, equality, dharma, piety, truth and love form the bastion of his republic. In one of his stories [45] he gives a definition of *Kruda Yuga*:

"எந்த ஜந்துவும், வேறு எந்த ஜந்துவையும்
ஹிம்சை பண்ணாமலும் எல்லா ஜந்துக்களும்
மற்றெல்லா ஜந்துக்களையும் தேவதாரூப
மாகக் கண்டு வணங்கும்படிக்கும் விதி
யுண்டானால், அதுதான் கிருதயுகம்."

43. A.M.D. Hughes: *The Theology of Shelley*. Warton Lecture on English Poetry, Proceedings of the British Academy, XXIV, 1939, p. 196.

45. *'Summa'*, Stories of Bharati, p. 311.

The millennium draws its sustenance from the mutual love and respect of the whole or the animate creation. It is this ideal state of happiness which Shelley describes in *Queen Mab* by the imagery of the lion and the lamb. All things forget their evil nature, and live in amity. This is "the effect of the millennium on Nature" [46] described by the Spirit or the Earth in the great drama of Shelley. [47] In Bharati's "*Paradise of Peace*" there is no such startling physical transformation of ugly shapes; it is a spiritual change which alone ensures peace.

Prometheus after "Three thousand years of sleep-unsheltered hours and moments" finds ultimate relief in the ejection of hate and enthronement of love and is ushered into the new world by the Spirit of the Hour. Guru Govind demands of his disciples "blood, toil, sweat and tears" as a sacrifice for the attainment of their goal—an ideal state of freedom and happiness. [48] The Spirit of the Hour seems to have given him some ideas to build up his new state. In the Shelleyan republic,

"...thrones were kingless, and men walked
One with the other even as spirits do,
None fawned, none trampled; hate, disdain, or fear,
Self-love or self-contempt, on human brows
No more inscribed........."

Guru Govind promises to find for his followers a world where all men are brothers, all men are equals and all men are free:

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46. Milton: *Wilson*, p. 289.
47. *Prometheus Unbound*, III, iv. ll. 65-73.
48. *Guru Govindar*

"மானிட ரெல்லாம் சோதரர்; மானிடர்
சமத்துவ முடையார்: சுதந்திரஞ் சார்ந்தவர்.
சீடர்காள்! குலத்தினும் செயலினும் அனைத்தினும்
இக்கணந் தொட்டுநீர் யாவரும் ஒன்றே!"

The passage is no doubt, an echo of the famous slogans given to the modern world by the protagonists of the French Revolution. But the vehemence and the spirit with which the ideas are driven home point to the influence of Shelley. The slogans of the new republic are "Dharma, God, Truth and Freedom". It is a casteless. but a theistic society with which Bharati peoples his world. To him it is impossible to imagine a society without God for He alone sustains the world. [49] This is a clear departure from Shelley's concept of a free society.

In the Promethean world all symbols of tyranny and injustice are destroyed—"Thrones, altars, judgement-seats, and prisons". The new society of Guru Govind is sceptreless and free, but it recognized God as its king. It stamps out injustice and tyranny; [50]

"அநீதியும் கொடுமையும் அழித்திடுஞ் சாதி;
....
அரசனில் லாது தெய்வமே யரசர்
....
குடியர சாற்றுங் கொள்கையார் சாதி."

But unlike its model, this land of peace is filled with heroes who are armed - something which may sound repugnant to Shelley who dreams of the time when soldiers will become blacksmiths and beat their swords to plough shares. [51] It is but natural for the religious

49. 'நம்முடைய இஷ்டப்படி உலகம் நடக்கவில்லை. தெய்வத்தின் இஷ்டப்படி உலகம் நடக்கிறது.' *Arts*, p 37.

50 'எவன் அநியாயத்தை விடுகிறானோ, அவனுக்குக் கிருதயுகம் அந்தக்ஷணமே கைமேலே கிடைக்கும்.' *Philosophy*, p. 5.

51 *The Witch of Atlas*, LXXV.

leader of a martial community to indulge in a soldier's dream, however divested of aggressive intentions. Bharati himself believed that the new India of his poetic dreams can be created only by a soldier-philosopher.[52] He alone can free his country groaning under a foreign yoke.

The land of the Pandavas as described by Bharati is nothing but the ideal country which belongs to the Golden Age. Its fertile and beautiful landscape[53] recalls to mind "the habitable earth...full of bliss" of *Queen Mab.*[54] (The sensuousness of the description owes more to Keats than to Shelley.) Bharati like Shelley seems to believe that the millennium cannot be a reality without beautiful women. The Pandava country is full of women rivalling the divine courtesan Ramba in beauty. They may share with Panchali her fine accomplishments though there is no mention of it. *The Spirit of the Hour* describes the women of the new era as

" ....frank, beautiful, and kind
As the free heaven which rains fresh light and dew
On the wide earth, past; gentle radiant forms,
From custom's evil taint exempt and pure;
Speaking the wisdom once they could not think,
Looking emotions once they feared to feel,
And changed to all which once they dared not be.
Yet being now, made earth like heaven...."[55]

Sylva Norman speaks of the wide popularity of *To a Skylark* in the Orient during the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the

52 *Pōkinra Bhārathamum Varukinra Bhārathamum.*
53. *Pānchāli Sabatham,* I. 17. ll. 116-118.
54. *Queen Mab,* VIII
55. *Prometheus Unbound,* III, iv, ll. 153-160.

present century.[56] The poem seems to have made a great appeal to Bharati. The extent of its influence may be gauged from a study of his lyric 'சிட்டுக் குருவியைப் போலே' and his essay 'சிட்டு'. The latter is an elaborate commentary on the former. Shelley's poem records the thoughts which the bird awakens in the breast of the poet and the words of the lyric reproduce the melody of the lark. What the poet has achieved is the expression of "the supersonic flight of the bird in terms of the super-luminous".[57] To Shelley, the skylark is not a bird, but a blithe Spirit which remains invisible up in the bright blue heavens. By its sweet outpourings it inspires the poet to a lyrical outburst. He envies the happy lot of the bird because it is a complete stranger to pain, languor. annoyance and the sad satiety of love which mark the life of man on the earth.

The theme of Bharati's lyric is the perfect freedom of the *cittu* which with its mate enjoys unalloyed domestic happiness and a life of health, which by implication, are denied to the poet who is the representative of the human world and as such is ever longing to be as free as the bird. It is a simple and unadorned song whose inward silence is more eloquent than its outward expression. What the poet has failed to give expression to in the poem is amply compensated by the essay on the *cittu*. There he gives a profound interpretation to the phrase 'விட்டு விடுதலை' which is the refrain of the lyric.

Bharati begins the essay with details of the simple but attractive features of two birds. male and female, that live in the house of the poet. It is

56. *Flight of a Skylark* - The Development of Shelley's Reputation, p. 287.

57. *Milton:* Wilson, p. 296.

followed by a description of the ideal domestic life of the two birds. Like Shelley, Bharati envies the *cittu* its freedom. Shelley's envy is also the result of a feeling that the bird is ignorant of pain:

> "With thy clear keen joyance
> Languor cannot be:
> Shadow of annoyance
> Never came near thee:
> Thou lovest but ne'er knew love's sad satiety."

The *cittu* does not seem to be aware of the existence of sorrow that eats away the heart of man and disease that wastes away his body :

> "...க்ஷணந்தோறும் மனிதருடைய நெஞ்சைச் செல்லரிப்பது போல அரிக்கும் கவலைத் தொகுதியும், அதனால் ஏற்படும் நோய்த்திரளும் குருவிக்கு இருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை."

Bharati makes a pathetic appeal to God to give him a pair of wings [58] so that he might fly far away from the vale of tears and enter the world of Nature with its forests, flowers, mountains and streams whose very sight will evoke in his heart indescribable feelings of pleasure. In his bitterness he lists human sufferings which do not touch the bird. But he finds consolation in the idea that man is the recipient of certain gifts of God not given to the *cittu*—wisdom, piety, music and poetry. Man is thus superior in his intellectual as well as spiritual endowments. This is a clear departure from Shelley's philosophy which looks upon the skylark as 'scorner of the ground'. If man sheds hate, pride and fear and is free from suffering, he may aspire to the blissful state of the skylark:

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58. It is reminiscent of the Keatsian flight to the realm of the nightingale on the wings of Poesy.

"Yet if we could scorn
Hate, and pride, and fear;
If we were things born,
Not to shed a tear,
I know not how the joy we ever should come near."

Bharati believes that man can reach this state if to his natural gifts is added a free life like that of the *cittu*. But like Shelley he is also assailed by a doubt about the fulfilment of the heart's desire for perfect happiness.

Then Bharati dwells at length on the positive and negative aspects of the profound philosophy which he derives from the staccato voice of the profound philosophy which he derives from the staccato voice of the *cittu*, 'விடு', 'வீடு', 'விடு'. Here he establishes his superiority to Shelley as philosophical thinker. The two fold message of the bird is that we should not neglect our duties in life but we should give up our base desires and strive for spiritual freedom. 'விடு' has a mystical meaning for Bharati. It is the root of 'வீடு' which is 'விடுதலை' or freedom from human bondage. This is also called *mukti*. It is not a state that is reached after death. It is liberation of the soul on the earth. Those who achieve this state here will be truly happy. Bharati resolves to strive for true happiness by the grace of Parasakti. The essay on the *cittu* is a passionate plea for living a life of the spirit.

The purely primitive spirit of Shelley's naturalism has been compared with early Aryan poetry by eminent critics.[59] In ancient poetry the activities of nature are described as the activities of living

59. George Brandes: *Naturalism in England*, p. 224. S A. Brooke: *The Lyrics of Shelley', Studies in Poetry.*

beings. Seasons are pictured as gods and giants warring against one another. Shelley's poetry is full of delightful new nature-myths. They occur whereever his metaphysical theory of the Universe has not intruded into his imagination. His personifications of the earth and the moon in *Prometheus Unbound* are of this type. One of the finest examples of myth-making is the beautiful lyric *The Cloud*:

"I bring fresh showers for the thirsting flowers,
From the seas and the streams;
I bear light shade for the leaves when laid
In their noonday dreams.
From my wings are shaken the dews that waken
The sweet buds every one,
When rocked to rest on their mother's breast,
As she dances about the sun."

These splendid impersonations of the cloud are accompanied by imaginative impersonations of nature like the "sanguine Sunrise with his meteor eyes" and the "orbed maiden" the Moon.

Myth-making occurs frequently in the poetry of Bharati. It is a well known fact that he delved deep into Vedic poetry and evidence of it is found in his commentary on the poetry of the Vedic seers and in his *Vachana Kavithai*. The latter work contains many examples of nature myths. Though handicapped by his conscious effort to imitate Vedic poetry, Bharati has produced new myths. A good example is the description of the wind in the section called The Sun. The forces of nature are impersonated as Gods or Devas as in Vedic literature and they are prayed to and propitiated by the poet. The highly imaginative nature of the myths is somewhat reminiscent of Shelley as for example in the lines

" செவ்வாய், புதன் முதலிய பெண்கள் ஞாயிற்றை வட்ட
மிடுகின்றன.
இவை தமது தந்தைமீது காதல் செலுத்துகின்றன;
அவன் மந்திரத்திலே கட்டுண்டு வரைகடவாது சுழல்
கின்றன."[60]

This is a pure nature - myth. What is interesting about it is the scientific aspect of the myth, the influence of sun on stars and planets, which is neatly presented here in a poetic concept. This is something new in Tamil poetry. Only Shelley in English poetry is known for the mastery of the art of giving a poetic form to scientific facts and the best illustration of it is the poem '*The Cloud*' which, divested of its myths, is a scientific treatise on the origin and activities of the cloud. So it is not difficult to trace the source of Bharati's new myth-making. It may be noted here that the quotation "இனிய இசை சோகமுடையது" in the section '*Sakti*' in *Vachana Kavithai* is almost a verbatim translation of a famous line of Shelley "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought".[61]

Bharati's indebtedness to Shelley in primitive myth-making is not clearly manifest in his lyrics. But occasional examples are not wanting. The primitive freshness of his imagination in

"காம முற்று நிலத்தொடு நீரும்
காற்றும் நன்கு தழுவி நகைத்தே
தாம யங்கிநல் லின்புறுஞ் சோதி"[62]

recalls to mind the simplicity and charm of Nature as in

"Twilight, ascending slowly from the east,
Entwined in duskier wreaths her braided locks-
On the fair front and radiant eyes of day."

60. *Vachana Kavithai*, 38, II, ix.
61. *To a Skylark.*
62. *Oliyum Irulum*

Nathaniel Hawthorne describes one of his characters, a poet, as "living on a diet of fog, morning mists, and a slice of the densest cloud within his reach, sauced with moonshine".[63] He may have in mind a poet like Shelley to whom the spectral world is as concrete as the real world. Certainly Shelley's poetry is full of mists, clouds and moonshine. But he is not known to have subsisted on such a repast: Bharati, however, seems to have delighted in living on an aerial diet!

"நிலாவையும் வானத்து மீனையும் காற்றையும்
நேர்பட வைத்தாங்கே
குலாவும் அமுதக் குழம்பைக் குடித்தொரு
கோல வெறிபடைத்தோம்."[64]

The essence of Nature intoxicates the sensitive poet and provides food for his hungry imagination.

There are occasional direct echoes of Shelley in the poetry of Bharati. The passage

"முன்னாளில் துன்பின்றி இன்பம்வரா
தெனப்பெரியோர் மொழிந்தா ரன்றோ?"[65]

is reminiscent of the well-known line

'If Winter comes, can spring be far behind?'[66]

An intensely dramatic situation in Shelley's poetic drama, *The Cenci*, has an interesting parallel in *Panchali Sabatham*. The hapless Droupadi makes a heart-rending but vain appeal to the wise and the good and the pious among the courtiers of Duryodhana to save her from public humiliation and disgrace at the hands of a tyrant:

63. *'The Great Carbuncle'*. The Complete Novels And Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ed. by N. H. Pearson, p. 928.
64. *Nilāvum Vānmeenum Kāi um.*
55. *Boopendrar Vijayam.*
66. *Ode to the West Wind.*

"..........................வானசபையில்
கேள்வி பலவுடையோர், கேடிலா நல்லிசையோர்,
வேள்வி தவங்கள் மிகப்புரிந்த வேதியர்கள்,
மேலோ ரிருக்கின்றார், வெஞ்சினமேன்
கொள்கிலரோ?"[67]

Beatrice makes a similar hopeless appeal to the guests of her father to rescue her from the domestic tyrant:

"Dare no one look on me?
None answer? Can one tyrant overbear
The sense of many best and wisest men?
Or is it that I sue not in some form
Of scrupulous law, that ye deny my suit?"[68]

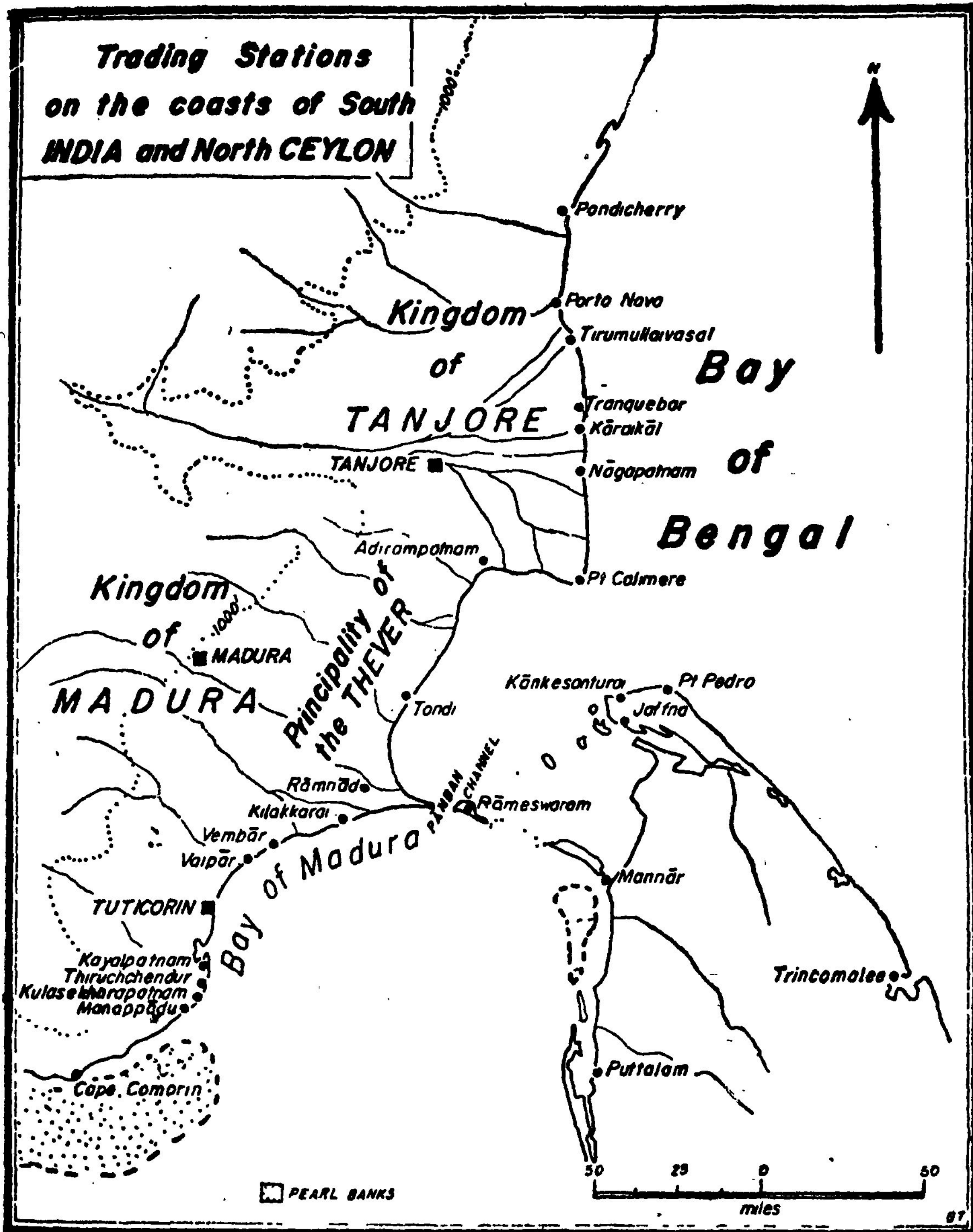
The two identical situations present one tragic phase in the history of human civilization. When the world neglects dharma and encourages adharma, innocence is trampled on by tyranny with impunity. When men lose their reason, justice flees to "brutish beasts'; But the two dramas present two different visions of life, one optimistic and the other pessimistic. The triumph of Duryodhana is short-lived and the honour of Droupadi is vindicated. Nemesis overtakes him. Beatrice, pure and innocent, is sacrificed to the tyranny of man-made institutions.

67. *Panchali Sabatham*, V. 63.
68. *The Cenci*, I. iii, ll. 133 - 136.

The Dutch East India Company and the Kingdom of Madura, 1650-1700

S. ARASARATNAM

The South Indian coast and the island of Ceylon featured very prominently in the Dutch - Portuguese struggles of the 17th century. The attempts of the Dutch East India Company to wrest the cinnamon lands of Ceylon from the Portuguese power brought them into close contact with the coastline of Madura, situated so close to the West coast of Ceylon and referred to in contemporary Dutch records as the *overcust* or opposite coast, as looked at from Ceylon. With the increasing control of the Company over Ceylon, factors, both strategic and economic, brought them into closer relationship with the peoples and rulers of the lands along the Madura coast. Strategically, this area gave a commanding position over the seas round the west coast of Ceylon. The control of one or more harbours there would enable a power to dominate the seas between India and Ceylon and thus ensure the security of the island from external attack. The Portuguese had felt safer in Ceylon as long as they held Tuticorin on the Indian coast and one of the first things the Dutch did after expelling them from the island was to seize this stronghold. Economically, any power which established itself in Ceylon soon discovered the close commercial ties between the island and South India which provided the island with all its requirements in clothing, part of its rice and other foodstuffs, and consumed the island's entire produce of arecanuts. The firm establishment of Dutch power in Ceylon begins a period of contact



Trading Stations
on the coasts of South
INDIA and North CEYLON
Pondicherry
Porto Novo
Kingdom
of
TANJORE
Tirumullaivasal
Tranquebar
Kāraikāl
TANJORE
Nāgapatnam
Bay
of
Bengal
Adirampatnam
Pt Calimere
Kingdom
of
MADURA
MADURA
Principality of
the THEVER
Tondi
Kānkesanturai
Pt Pedro
Jaffna
Rāmnād
PAMBAN CHANNEL
Rāmeswaram
Kilakkarai
Vembār
Vaipār
Bay of Madura
Mannār
TUTICORIN
Kayalpatnam
Thiruchchendur
Kulasekharapatnam
Manappādu
Trincomalee
Puttalam
Cape Comorin
PEARL BANKS
50
25
0
50
miles

between the East India Company and the Nayaks of Madura, under whose jurisdiction lay the coast-line from Cape Comorin up to the Straits of Rameshvaram.

The first Dutch contact with the Nayak of Madura was in 1645 when they obtained a written permission from him to establish trading stations in any of the parts under his jurisdiction.[1] In pursuance of this they set up a factory at Kayalpattinam. The Portuguese viewed with disfavour this settlement of their rivals in an area which had so far been their sphere of influence. They still had considerable influence in Madura and they intrigued with the Nayak's officials against the Dutch. The result was a surprise attack on the Dutch factory in 1648 and the destruction of their goods and the factory itself. Though the Dutch undertook a punitive expedition on the Portuguese stronghold of Tuticorin and forced compensation for the damage done, they decided not to re-establish a settlement either at Kayalpattinam or anywhere else in this area.[2] It was obvious that if the Dutch were to make an impression here they had to root out Portuguese power and influence.

On the expiry of the truce between the Dutch and the Portuguese in 1652, the Dutch resumed their attack on Portuguese possessions in Ceylon. Colombo was taken in 1656 and, in 1658, under Rijkloff van Goens, they took the offensive against the Portuguese possessions of Tuticorin, Mannar and Jaffna. In January 1658, Tuticorin was taken without much opposition and the Dutch had secured a permanent foothold on the Madura coast. But though the Portuguese were expel-

1. *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando* - Indicum, Ed. J. C. Heeres, I, p. 456.
2. Roelofsz, De Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar, pp. 125 - 8.

led from the coast, the Dutch had yet to secure recognition from the sovereign of the land, the Nayak of Madura. The rights exercised by the Portuguese in Tuticorin and the other ports in this area were by no means clear and did not derive from any specific grant by the lord of the land. Theirs was more a process of peaceful penetration that grew gradually, both out of their naval supremacy and the hold they secured over the people of the parava community, the majority of the population, by the spread of the Catholic faith. [3] In time they had secured full jurisdiction over the Parava community who gave them complete loyalty. But they had also to show some recognition of the Nayak's authority. In the pearl fishery situated along the coast, the Nayak was given certain rights. [4]

It was this position which the Dutch inherited in 1658. In two ways itwas soon found to be unsatisfactory. In the first place, the religious affinity with the coastline Paravas which had been so comforting to Portuguese security was not prevalent under the Dutch, for in their reformist zeal they were more hostile to Catholicism than even to non-Christian religions. Secondly, for a greater part of the period of Potuguese supremacy in India they were the only European nation trading in this area and as such were not worried by the problem of European competition. This is probably the reason why they did not seek to define their rights clearly or to get an exclusive grant from the Nayak. The Dutch, on the other hand, were constantly worried by a return of Portuguese power or by attempts by other European traders such as the English and later the French to share the trade of the area.

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3. Arunachalam, History of the Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast, pp. 97, 110 - 11.
4. Ibid. p 113.

The primary aim of Dutch policy in the southern tip of India was to establish its power there with a view to ensuring the greater security of its hold over the maritime lands of Ceylon. In order to do this, it was necessary to see to it that Dutch naval power was supreme in the seas between India and Ceylon, and that no rival nation was given a chance to settle down along the South Indian coast. To secure some of these aims the goodwill and co-operation of the Nayak of Madura was necessary. The first step in this direction was taken when in January 1658 the Dutch decided to send Koopman Ooms and Secretary Jacob van Rhee, two senior officers of the Company, in an embassy to the Madura coast. This was the beginning of a chequered history of relation between the Company and Madura. The instructions issued to these officers by Rijkloff van Goens, Supreme Commander of the Company's affairs in India and Ceylon, are an interesting study in the aims of Dutch policy in this region. They were to try to secure exclusive rights of fishing for pearls and chanks in return for payment of a toll of 2%. The Nayak was to be induced to agree not to allow any other European power to trade in the Bay of Madura. In particular, pepper was to be brought into the Nayak's ports only by the Dutch who were also to be given preference in the purchase of rice. An upper limit was to be fixed in the price of rice. Lastly, permission was to be secured from the Nayak for the construction of a fortress at Tuticorin which would be the centre of Dutch power in Madura. [5] This was the type of treaty which the Dutch had proposed and successfully imposed on a number of Asian princes and it fitted into their general line of thinking on Asian trade.

5. Instructions to Koopman Ooms .... prepared by Van Goens, 1 January 1658, Koloniale Archief, The Hague (hereafter referred to as K.A.), 1117 fo 305.

The effect of these terms, if accepted, would have been to make the Kingdom of Madura economically dependent on the East India Company.

As was to be expected, the Dutch officials returned without achieving success on any of the more important of the proposed terms. In reply to the Company's demand to build a fortress at Tuticorin, the Nayak averred that the Portuguese had lived there for over a hundred years without a fort and he did not feel that was necessary. Similarly the Nayak rejected the demand for monopoly of trade and fishing rights and expressed his intention to permit everyone, including Europeans, to trade freely in his domains. [6] He allowed that all Pattangatys Paravas and other Christians along the coast shall remain under the jurisdiction of the Company provided they paid their taxes to the Nayak. This meant that, for the time being at least, the Dutch power had to continue in the Madura coast with rights similar to those held by the Portuguese, no less and no more. The Dutch were not at all satisfied with this state of affairs, the men on the spot (the Ceylon officials) less so than the Batavian Government and the Directors. They had already begun to experience trouble with the Paravas on matters of religion. Rev. Baldaeus of the Dutch Reformed Church was sent to convert the Catholic Paravas to Protestantism. He met with remarkably stiff resistance. [7] There was a spirit of insubordination among them and this was by no means good for the healthy progress of the settlement of Tuticorin.

Another, and in many respects more difficult, problem was rearing its head. The English East India

6. Corpus Dip...II, pp. 145 - 9.
7. Baldaeus, Naawkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Coromandel en het Eyland Ceylon, p. 150.

Company was now interested in making more contacts with the cloth producing centres all along the coast of South India. This brought them into the Bay of Madura which being neutral seas was navigable by any trader. The villages in the hinterland of the coast of Madura were well-known for the production of cheap cloth and early in 1659 the English were seeking to establish a factory somewhere here. The first Englishman to sail into the Bay was Hoddedson. He attempted to land first at Tuticorin but the Dutch "would not suffer to receive any benefit of share, not so much as water". He proceeded to Old Kayl (Pannekayl) where he was more favourably received by the Indian merchants who saw in the coming of the English an opportunity to enlarge the trade of the region and break down the tendency of the Dutch to monopolise it. On approval by the authorities at Surat, a factory with three English merchants and small capital was set up at Kayalpattinam in February 1659. [8] This infringement on what the Dutch held to be their own sphere of influence was a source of great irritation to the Dutch authorities in Ceylon but there was nothing they could do about it. However much the Ceylon officials desired to exclude forcibly the English, and, indeed, all other Europeans from the Bay, the Government at Batavia did not think that they could do this with any right and did not want to embroil the English, a nation with whom the Dutch were then at peace. [9] They settled down to participate in the trade in open competition.

In time there came an increasing awareness of the possibilities of trade in Madura. Apart from the pearl fishery, where the Dutch inherited the rights enjoyed

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8. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1655 - 60, pp. 218 - 19.
9. Governor General and Council to Van Goens, 28 August 1660, K. A. 787 fo. 381, Governor General and Council to Van Goens 4 November 1660, K A. 787 ff. 690 - 3.

by the Portuguese, there were other avenues of profitable trade. Weavers of Madura villages specialised in the turning out of a single piece coarse cotton cloth called *kachchai* (in Tamil) widely used by the peasantry as loin cloth-practically the only article of clothing that covered their bodies. There was also in vogue the expert painting of pretty designs on cloth and the dyeing of cloth into bright colours with the use of natural dyes extracted from the root of a plant called *sayai* which grew wild in north Ceylon and South India. Chanks (*sangu*) fished all along the coast were in demand in certain parts of North India where they were used for making bangles and other ornaments. During years of good harvest there was always a surplus of rice that could be exported, besides a multitude of other articles of daily use. The many sided nature of trade here maybe gauged from the fact that at times it was even possible to buy up slaves in large numbers. This happened in times of famine and destitution in the land when whole families were prepared to sell themselves to slavery than starve to death in their villages. Cloth, however, constituted, far and above, the biggest single item of trade of the area. It was soon realised that Madura would not only provide cloth necessary for the Ceylon market, as she had been doing even before the Dutch came there, but could be made to supply cloth for sale in the East Indies and even for export to Europe. If the necessary contact could be made with the weavers, dyers and painters in the villages and if there was sufficient security to safeguard sizable investments of capital, then Madura could be made into yet another important link in the Company's Asian trade system. In recognition of this the Batavian Government issued instructions that residence be established also in the six other ports in

the Kingdom manned by one or two Dutch soldiers, viz; Vembar, Vaipar, Pandecayl, Kayalpattinam, Manapar and Pattananandur.[10]

How far the Nayak of Madura would countenance Dutch attempts to entrench themselves further on the coast was another matter. His first reaction, as has already been seen, had been a firm resistance against all attempts to arrogate to themselves more powers than those held by the Portuguese. But, unfortunately for the Nayak, conditions were not propitious for the maintenance of this pressure against the Dutch. Both internal dissensions and external invasion diverted the attention of the rulers of Madura from their coastal possessions. After the death of Thirumala Nayak in 1659, this dynasty could not produce men of equal ability or stature. It was also the beginning of Islamic invasions from Bijapore which belaboured the country for a long time. Moreover, the Nayak had trouble with both the Nayak of Tanjore and Ragunatha Thevar and in 1665 he made the first of his appeals to the Dutch for help against his enemies.[11] The Dutch, however, were reluctant to be drawn into the internal dispute of the area, as it was in the interests of their trade to be in good relations with both the Nayak of Madura and the Thevar. Instructions given by the Batavian Government to the Ceylon officials was to sidetrack the Nayak's demands for assistance and use their good offices to bring about peace between the two parties. The Ceylon Government could report in September 1665 that this was successfully achieved.[12] As a con-

10. Memoir for Van Goens from Governor General and Council, 5 September 1664. K. A. 791 fo. 416.
11. Governor General and Council to Van Goens, 13 September 1665, K. A. 792 fo. 463.
12. Resolutions of Governor General and Council 26 June 1665, K. A. 580, p. 169; Governor General and Council to Van Goens, 11 July 1665, K. A. 792 fo. 238; Governor General and Council to Van Goens. 13 September 1665, K. A. 792 fo. 463.

sequence far from being kept in their place by the Nayak, Dutch influence in the area was increasing steadily.

Dutch trade was also expanding correspondingly. In 1665 Dutch powers in Ceylon underwent a wide territorial expansion and this gave them control over almost all the seaports and added considerably to the number of inhabitants under them. It enhanced their position in relation to the Indo-Ceylon trade for with the control of these ports the trade was almost entirely at their mercy. It also meant a larger market for the sale of cloth and the purchase of arecanuts to be sold in South India. Rough estimates by officials in Ceylon and Tuticorin assessed that about thirty to forty thousand pieces of *kachchai* cloth from Tuticorin could be sold in Ceylon, and Madura could consume about twenty thousand amanams [13] of Ceylon nuts per year.[14] It was also reported from Batavia that the painted cloth sent from Tuticorin had sold well there and hence they were prepared to invest more on this trade. [15] This was in spite of the fact that the rate of exchange prevalent at Madura was different from that on the Coromandel coast. Whereas in Madura one Pagoda was equivalent to 120 Dutch Stuivers, in Coromandel it was reckoned at 105 Stuivers. [16] This made the Madura cloth dearer in terms of Dutch capital paid for it than the cloth in various ports of the Coromandel coast. In spite of this disad-

13. A standard of measure used, among other things, in respect of arecanuts, varying district to district from 20,000 to 24,000 single nuts. On Madura coast it is generally 24,000.

14. Governor-General and Council to Van Goens, 13 September 1665, K. A. 792 fo. 467. Governor-General and Council to Van Goens, 13 September 1666, K. A. 793 fo. 550.

15. Governor-General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 29 March 1667, K. A. 794 fo. 160.

16. Van Goens to Directors, 30 November 1670, K. A. 1164 f. 9.

vantage cloth sent from Tuticorin was able to hold its own in East Indian markets. In the face of all these advantages, actual and potential, the Ceylon Government renewed its former advocacy of a more forceful policy in Madura. So far the main benefits of the Indo-Ceylon trade were reaped largely by Muslim traders who were indigenous to this coast and lived in the domains of the Nayak and the Thevar. The Dutch had to buy and sell in the open market and this they found very irksome. The Ceylon officials advocated monopolising of the trade at both ends and the expulsion of the Muslims from it. For this it was necessary to lodge more power in Tuticorin and, therefore, a fortress there was a basic necessity-with the Nayak's consent, if possible, if not by the use of force.[17]

This forms the background to the second Dutch embassy to be sent to the Madura coast in the end of 1667 under the leadership of Hendrick Adrian van Rheede.[18] He was instructed to negotiate a new treaty with the Nayak. He was to ask specifically for monopoly rights in trade to the exclusion of all other Europeans, permission to build a fortress at Tuticorin and the confirmation of the existing privileges over the Christian Paravas and the pearl fishery.[19] Van Rheede failed to secure any of the additional concessions he asked for; the Dutch believed that this was because of the 'machinations of the Catholic priests and paravas'.[20] The authorities at Batavia were

17. Van Goens to Directors, 25 January 1668, K. A. 1668, K. A. 1152 ff. 254-5.

18. A highly influential member of the Company's service. In 1669 he became Commander of Malabar. Subsequently in 1684 he was appointed Commissary to inquire into the administration of all the Company's territories West of Malacca.

19. Van Goens to Directors, 25 January 1668, K. A. 1152 fo. 253.

20. Governor-General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 7 October 1668, K. A. 795 fo. 627.

opposed to the view of the Ceylon officials that they should proceed forcibly with the construction of a fortress at Tuticorin. They suggested that the large Franciscan Church in the city could be altered into a stronghold and made defensible from attack by mounting guns and stationing within it about 80 soldiers. [21]

In 1669 the Nayak launched a sudden attack on the city of Tuticorin. The reasons for this attack are not clear from the Dutch records. It may be conjectured that the Nayak resented Dutch attempts to fortify the city stealthily when he had repeatedly refused them permission for a fortress. Some differences also seem to have arisen over the extent of control that the native authority had over the Parava inhabitants of Tuticorin. [22] The attack caught the Dutch unawares and they had to summon relief from Colombo. When help arrived the Dutch counter-attacked and drove the Madurese away with considerable loss of life to the latter. [23] The Dutch decided to use this opportunity to re-open negotiations and contract a firm treaty, and the Governor of Ceylon, Rijkloff van Goens, himself went across to Tuticorin to achieve this. Discussions took place between van Goens and the Nayak's Governor of the coastal districts, Barmialappe Pulle. Once again the exclusive right of trade and permission to build a fortress featured as the main demands.[24] A draft was agreed upon between the two parties where the Dutch were given permission to build a stone building that would serve them to protect their assets in Tuticorin. They were satisfied because they thought they could construct this building as a small fortress.[25]

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21. Ibid.
22. Van Goens to Directors, 22 January 1669, K. A. 1156 ff. 591-4.
23. Van Goens to Directors, 9 January 1670, K. A. 1160 ff. 12-13.
24. Ibid. fo. 15
25. Governor-General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 31 July 1670, K. A. 797 ff. 439-40.

In the meanwhile war seems to have broken out again between the Nayak and Thevar and the draft treaty was never confirmed by the Nayak.

Towards the end of 1670 the political situation in Madura became confused and remained so till 1672. There was a tangle of intrigue and counter-intrigue involving almost all the ruling princes of the region, the Nayak of Madura, the Nayak of Tanjore, the Nayak of Gingee and the Thevar. The growing power and influence of the Thevar and his consequent attitude of arrogance towards the Nayak of Madura made the latter think along the lines of a large scale attack on the Thevar in order to suppress his power before it was too late. With this end in view he was seeking to come to some understanding with the two neighbouring Nayaks who were not averse to expanding their territories at the expense of the Thevar. To the Nayak of Madura, the Dutch appeared to be natural allies in this venture as the growing power of the Thevar also stood in the way of Dutch trade. They had suffered innumerable little pinpricks in the course of their trading activity in this area from the subjects of the Thevar for which they found it impossible to get any form of redress from the Thevar's administration. The Nayak made overtures to the Dutch officials at Tuticorin and sought Dutch help in a war he would wage against the Thevar.[26] To the Dutch this appeared to be an ideal opportunity to transform their relations with the Nayak to a better footing and to strengthen their legal and actual hold on the coast of Madura. But the fact of having to engage in armed conflict against one of the sovereigns of the land in a region where their interest was purely commercial

26. Secret Minutes of Political Council of Ceylon, 8 January 1670, *Dutch Records (Ceylon)* 738.

went against the grain of their policy. The officials at Tuticorin were very much in favour of entering into agreement with the Nayak and hence the Government of Ceylon sent Opperkoopman Pyl on a deputation to the Nayak to secure from him some definite promise before the Dutch could commit themselves.[27] The Nayak's officers laid before the Dutch deputation their plans for the attack on the Thevar and requested that the Dutch should besiege and capture the island of Rameswaram. The Dutch demanded that in return for their help the island of Rameswaram and the Straits of Pambanar shall be in their hand as also all the ports in the Thevar's lands. There were then the stock demands for the right to put up buildings in their trading stations in the Nayak's lands and the right to keep away all other Europeans from the area.[28] The Nayak was prepared to concede these demands and the Governor and Council of Ceylon approved the granting of help to the Nayak and wrote to Batavia for a thousand soldiers.[29] The whole scheme was strongly disapproved of by the Batavian Government which raised several objections. Furtheremore, the Nayak's attentions were temporarily diverted to the north where a Bijaporean army had begun one of its marauding raids. Once he was relieved of his pressure from the north, the Nayak did return to pursue his plans against the Thevar and war broke out in 1672 and continued till early in 1673. Now tbe Dutch officials, on instructions from Batavia, maintained a policy of strict neutrality between the contending parties.[30]

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27. Secret Minutes of Political Councit of Ceylon, 11 March 1671.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 15 April 1671.
30. Van Goens, the younger, to Directors, 6 February 1673, K.A. 1182 ff. 24-5.

The war had adverse effects on the trade of the area. The quantity of cloth procurable was greatly reduced. There was a general exodus of weavers and merchants from the Nayak's land both to the East and to the West. This came at a very unfortunate time for the Dutch because at this very time they had imposed controls on private traders sailing to Ceylon ports with a view to taking over this trade entirely into the Company's hands. This war came to an end early in 1673.

Hardly had the differences between Thevar and Madura been settled, than another war broke out in this region, this time between Madura and Tanjore. The Madura Nayak attacked Tanjore, defeated the reigning Nayak as viceroy of Tanjore. [31] Nagapatnam, which was then held by the Dutch, was situated in the Kingdom of Tanjore and the Dutch were concerned about the recognition of their rights by the new lord of the land. Former Nayaks had already done this in *cauls* granted by them and hence the Dutch sought the same from the new overlords. A contract was entered into between the Dutch and the ruler of Tanjore, acting on behalf of the Nayak of Madura by which the Dutch were confirmed in their former rights in return for a fee of 3,000 Pardaus and a tusked elephant to be delivered every year to the Nayak of Madura. [32] The Madura Nayak's control over Tanjore and hence this treaty were, however, shortlived, as Ekoji, the Bijapur general, attacked Tanjore in 1675 and defeated the Nayak's protege.

From 1675, Madura was engaged at war simultaneously against Ekoji, Thevar and the ruler of

31. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Two Silver plate grants from the Batavia Museum in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-land en Volk kuude* LXXXI, pp. 1-19.
32. Contract van aliantie en vreede by R. Van Goens...gesloten met Cawatte, Naik van Tanjore...13 Spetember 1674, K. A. 1188 fo. 529.

Mysore. The Governor of Ceylon pleaded with the authorities that this was the best opportunity to put his old plan into operation. He pointed out that if, in these disturbing times, the city of Tuticorin was well fortified it could provide a safe refuge to the merchants and artisans who were fleeing from the ravages of war in the interior. He asked for permission to attack the Nayak when he was hard pressed on all sides and extract from him these concessions he had consistently refused.[33] But at this very time the Dutch were having heavy military commitments in Ceylon and could not find the necessary soldiers to undertake an expedition against the Nayak. Both the Batavian Government and the Directors were against any further expansion in this region. Compulsion being ruled out, the Ceylon Government now tried more persuasive means. The above wars had exhausted the financial resources of Madura and more than once potential invaders had to be bought off with considerable money. The Nayak was badly in need of money. The Dutch now hit upon the idea of giving the Nayak a loan in return for the concessions they sought. Huisman, a high-ranking official in Ceylon, was sent across to Tuticorin to negotiate on this basis. The Dutch would give the Nayak three tusked elephants, copper and cash-amounting in all to 12,000 Rix Dollars-in return for which they would ask for the lease of four places in Madura-Kaylpattinam, Kulasegarapatnam, Atur and Tuticorin.[34] An agreement was entered into and the Dutch lent the Nayak 12,000 Rix Dollars which was reckoned in the following manner:

33. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 11 October 1675, K. A. 1197, ff. 72-3.

34. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 10 July 1676, K. A. 7205, ff. 118-19.

3 Elephants[35]	 4,800	Rix Dollars
9¼ bhars copper (480 Dutch Pounds each bhar)	 1,200	,,
Cash	 6,000	,,
	12,000	

This was held to be in payment as lease for the four places as follows:

Tuticorin	 2,700	Rix Dollars
Kaylpatnam	 3,900	,,
Kulasegarapatnam	 3,600	,,
Atur	 1,800	,,
	12,000.[36]	

Huisman also reported at the same time that greater direct contact should be made with the weavers in villages and suggested that it would be useful if the village of Atur were also taken in lease. At the same time permission was obtained from the Nayak to establish a mint in Atur from which Fanams and Pagodas could be turned out.[37]

As a result of this agreement, relations between Madura and the Dutch was, for the moment, so good that the Batavian Government instructed the Ceylon Government to support the Nayak in his war against Ekoji with four to five hundred Dutch soldiers, some topasses and artillery.[38] This was contrary to general Dutch policy in this area which had so far been one

35. The elephants would have cost the Dutch nothing as they were captured in their territories in Ceylon.
36. Governor General and Council to Directors, 26 November 1676, K. A. 1204 fo. 166.
37. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 5 March 1677, K. A. 1213, fo. 16.
38. Governor General and Council to Van Goens the Younger, 18 May 1677, K. A. 804, fo. 213.

of scrupulous non-intervention in the innumerable wars that were taking place there. It can only be explained in terms of Dutch relations with Ekoji which had worsened in 1677. After he had successfully usurped power in Tanjore, Ekoji was pressing on the Dutch city of Nagapatnam and refusing to recognise their position there. Hence the Dutch were considering an all out war on him along the whole Tanjore coast with a view to bringing him to heel. [39] In the midst of all these troubles, in Madura the reigning Nayak Chokkanatha was deposed and his brother Muttulinga Nayak took over the administration of the country.[40] He sent a deputation to Tuticorin soliciting Dutch assistance against Ekoji and it seemed as if this request would be granted. But by September 1677 relations between the Dutch and Ekoji had improved considerably and the earlier enthusiasm to participate in the war against him had cooled off. No direct assistance was forthcoming to the Madura Nayak and this was probably what enraged him to make a violent attack on Tuticorin and plunder money and goods. [41]

Such incidents were occurring more frequently now owing to the decline of political authority. Local Governors would request loans from Dutch factors and if refused resort to force. They would seek to impose more than the legitimate tolls on the Dutch or would try to tax the Paravas, contrary to accepted practice. These incidents and the general decline of trade and economy because of the troublous times showed the

39. Ibid.

40. Sathyanathaier (*History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 181) assigns this event to 1678, but the Dutch records make definite reference to it in June 1677. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 11 June 1677, K. A. 1213, ff. 40-1.

41. Governor General and Council to Directors, 15 February 1678, K. A. 1212, fo. 563.

Dutch how dependent was their position on the political conditions of the area. Tuticorin was not constructed in such a way as to defend it from attacks from inland, nor would the lord of the land permit the construction of defence works. Obstacles were put in the way of trade even in places like Kulasegarapatnam where they had certain privileges by virtue of the lease they had obtained. On such occasions the only remedy open to the Dutch was to blockade the ports by sea and this made the native power climb down.[42] There was also a suggestion that the chief residence on the coast be transferred from Tuticorin to Pannekayl where a fort ought to be constructed. This place was also held to be closer to the villages where cloth was woven. But the authorities did not want a change at that stage. They felt that the wisest course was to depend on sea power and carry on the trade as best as they could.

Again in 1680 the political fortunes of Madura took a turn for the worse. Both from Mysore in the north and by the Thevar in the east the Kingdom was attacked and parts of it annexed. Again the problem of fortifying the coastal stations came to the fore and yet another Dutch deputation that sought this was rebuffed.[43] This was now becoming almost a hardy annual. The local Governor, far from permitting any new construction, was even suspicious of any repair work on the old and dilapidated structures that were already there. In the following year, Van Rhee, Officer in-Charge at Tuticorin, suggested a high powered embassy to Madura with a sizable gift to the Nayak to negotiate a fresh treaty. He felt that the

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42. Governor General and Council to Van Goens the Younger, 21 September 1679, K. A. 806, fo. 1005.
43. Laurence Pyl to Governor General and Council, 18 June 1680, K. A. 1244, fos. 21-22.

time was most opportune for the step. The terms offered should be comprehensive and cover all outstanding points of dispute. The Dutch were to be given the right to trade freely, without tolls, in the interior of the country and the Company's native merchants and weavers too were to enjoy these rights. They were also to be granted the rights to put up stone buildings and surround them with walls, if necessary. The rights of the Dutch over the Paravas were to be confirmed and they were to be granted further the right to keep other European nations out of the Nayak's lands. [44] This projected embassy does not seem to have come through.

In the years 1681-2, a large part of the Kingdom of Madura was overrun by Mysore and the Thevar. The Dutch took advantage of this preoccupation of the Nayak to stealthily construct defence works round the city of Tuticorin. By 1613 the city was completely walled in. The lands round Tuticorin was then under the control of the Thevar with whom Dutch relations were not good. There were a number of outstanding disputes between the two parties and the Thevar challenged more vigorously than the Nayak Dutch attempts to monopolise the trade of the Bay. The Thevar was bleeding white his newly acquired land round Tuticorin, showing scant respect even to Dutch officials or their rights. There was even a threat of invasion of Tuticorin and reinforcements were rushed there from Ceylon with instructions to meet force effectively with force. [45] It was now realised that the restoration of the authority of the Madura Nayak over his lands was the least of

44. Pyl to Governor General and Council, 25 August 1681, K. A. 1253, fo. 124.
45. Pyl to Governor General and Council, 3 July 1682, K. A. 1262, ff. 44-5.

possible evils and consequently the Dutch decided to give him assistance secretly, not with Dutch soldiers but with arms and ammunition. [46]

Though by the end of 1683 the Nayak had succeeded in establishing his position in the north by the expulsion of the Mysore invaders, in the south he decided to give over all lands along the coast to the Thevar as payment for the help given to him in the war against Mysore. The Thevar set about collecting taxes from these lands and appointed Periathamby Marikkar, a coastal Muslim, as his chief tax collector. This brought up once more the old enmity between the Paravas and Muslims. The Paravas refused absolutely to submit to Muslim administrative officials of the Thevar and it led to a number of incidents. Van Rhee himself proceeded there to patch up the differences between the two parties but these attempts were of no avail. Finally the Dutch decided to take up the matter with the Thevar and a Brahmin from Jaffna, Timmersa, was sent to negotiate with him. [47] This and other disputes between the Dutch and the Thevar were only settled after a punitive expedition undertaken against him by the Dutch in 1684. A treaty was signed in August 1684 between the two parties where among other things, the Dutch were confirmed in the privileges they held in Madura when these lands were under the Nayak. [48] In the following year once again war broke out between the Nayak and the Thevar and the latter was forced to retire from the lands round Tuticorin.

The repeated failure of the attempts to contract the Nayak for exclusive trading rights inthe seas round

46. Ibid.
47. Pyl to Governor General and Council, 3 July 1684, K. A. 1285, ff. 14-15.
48. *Corpus Dip*. III, pp. 370-7.

Madura had repercussions on Dutch policy towards trade and traffic in this area. It has already been noted that they had to suffer the establishment of an English factory at Kaylpatnam, but soon after the second Anglo-Dutch war broke out in Europe, the Dutch attacked the factory in 1665, took John Harrington the factor prisoner and seized all the goods. [49] For sometime after this the question of whether other Europeans had the right to enter the Bay and trade in Madura was mainly a theoretical one. None bothered to come in and challenge Dutch position there. Officials from Ceylon, basing their rights on the fact of conquest from the Portuguese of Tuticorin and Ceylon, were of the view that this entire region was their preserve. No foreigner could enter the seas East of Cape Comerin up to the Pamban Straits. They would even extend this extravagant interpretation of Dutch rights to the pearl fishery off the Indian coast where by virtue of their control over the seas, they felt that they could enjoy the benefits exclusively. They would, in fact, convert the Bay of Madura and the Pamban Straits into a Dutch lake. The higher authorities both in Batavia and in Holland were more concerned with legal rights. [50] There was no document or other tangible evidence on which such above rights could be claimed. When they were at war with a particular nation, then they could proceed against ships of that nation, as they did against the English in 1665. Unlike in Ceylon, where they enjoyed sovereignty over parts of the Island, in South India, there was no territory they could call their own, not even Tuticorin. The presence of Dutch factors in all the seven ports of Madura

49. Governor General and Council to Directors, 30 January 1666, K. A. 1142 fo. 263.

50. Governor General and Council to Van Goens, the younger, 26 September 1676, K. A. 803, ff. 399-400.

in residencies under the Dutch flag did not give them rights over the entire harbour. In the 70's, competition among Europeans for Indian trade increased immensely, and fear of their entry into this region became more practical. The English and the French were interested in this area and were seeking to establish trading contracts. The Directors advised utmost caution in dealing with these foreign vessels and always decried the use of force. Instructions given to the officers at Tuticorin at the rumoured appearance of an English vessel at Pannakayl shows the cautious attitude of the Dutch. The English were to be addressed in a friendly manner and told that no other European vessel may come into any of the ports, but if the English insisted on staying there they were to be tolerated.[51] There was no question of using force against them. These powers had every right to establish contact with the native rulers of the area. The Dutch could only prevent this by diplomacy and tact, by themselves keeping on the good side of the rulers and offering them incentives similar to what they would get by dealing with others. It was thus the good fortune of the Dutch that no Europeans in this period made a sustained effort to penetrate this area.

More rough and ready methods were, however, pursued towards Indian traders. There was a considerable Muslim population in and around this coast who carried on this trade in the main and also some Hindu Chetties. It was neither feasible nor desirable to eliminate them from the trade, though the Dutch found their competition troublesome and not producing as much profits as a monopoly would. The traditional policy of native kings towards trade was the policy of 'open door'. But, possessed of far superior

51. Minutes of Political Council of Ceylon, 6 May 1686, Dutch Records (Ceylon) 29.

naval power as they were, it was easier for the Dutch to deal forcibly with these local traders. A system of passes was initiated for those seeking to sail into the Bay, the intention of which was to keep a check on the nature of goods transported by them. No native traders could carry or deal in cinnamon or pepper. These were monopolies of the Company. After the Indo-Ceylon trade was taken over by the Dutch, the sale of Ceylon arecanuts in South Indian markets, which had so far been done by the native traders, now became a Dutch monopoly. Arecanut now became contraband for native traders. The inevitable consequence of thus restricting the trade in arecanuts was to put up its price all along the coast and this in turn led to the entry of nuts of a different type from Malabar. This affected the sale of the Ceylon produce and Dutch immediately retaliated by clamping down controls on the entry of vessels with arecanuts from Malabar. This involved the vital principle of free traffic in the Bay of Madura and the stage was set for a big dispute between the Dutch and local trading interests. The Dutch officials in Ceylon instructed the Tuticorin Comptoir to carry on a day and night patrol of the seas round Cape Comerin and inspect all native vessels that sailed there. If any of them were seen to carry arecanuts, they were to be seized and confiscated.[52] A system of passes was instituted and any vessel seeking to sail East of Cape Comerin had to carry a Dutch pass. No foreign passes, English or French, were respected. When this policy was put into operation it ran up against widespread opposition. The merchants of Malabar, who carried on most of this trade, had the support of their respective monarchs. The suspension of this trade affected

52. Governor-General and Council to Pyl, 2 October 1680, K. A. 807 fo. 1120; Pyl to Directors, 9 January 1681, K. A. 1244 fo. 72.

both the merchants and their sovereigns. It aroused widespread dissatisfaction against the Dutch in the Malabar regions. One of the monarchs who reacted strongly was the Queen of Attingen, who refused to allow the Dutch to purchase cloth in her lands unless they released the vessels they had confiscated.[53] The Dutch commander in Malabar, Adrian van Rheede, was himself constrained to protest on behalf of the traders against the high-handedness of this policy.[54] The rulers of Malabar could easily retaliate against Dutch interests in their domains and this would lead to serious complications. A closer examination of the legal position convinced the authorities in Batavia that they had no right to take this action and hence they recommended that this forceful policy be soft pedalled.[55] In spite of a strict watch, smuggling did take place and in any case it was always possible to bring the nuts by the overland route where Dutch had no control. So the more sensible alternative was to lower the price of the Ceylon nuts and though the profits declined as a consequence, this decline was more than made up by the increase in quantity sold.

The treaty contracted in the middle of 1690 between the Dutch and the Nayak of Madura gave the Dutch the concession and was to them the most favourable of all treaties entered into in our period. The reigning Nayak was Renga Kistna Muttu Wirappa Nayak (1682-1691) who was very favourably disposed towards the Dutch. In their increasing financial distress the Nayak and his courtiers were becoming

53. Pyl to Governor-General and Council, 3 July 1682, K. A. 1262, fo. 47.

54. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 11 June 1677, K. A. 1213 ff. 27-8. *Memoir written in the year 1677, by Hendrick Adrian van Rheede, Commander of Malabar.. ...for his successor* (Madras, 1911), pp. 31-32.

55. Governor-General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 21 November 1680, K. A. 808 fo. 1622.

more and more dependent on the Dutch who utilised this to good purpose without giving away too much. At this time, Adrian van Rheede,. who had been appointed Commissary of the Company's affairs West of Malacca, had taken residence in Ceylon and was seeking to establish Dutch position in this area on a firmer foundation. He set about negotiating with the Nayak Renga Kistna and in August 1690 a treaty was signed. [56] The first clause of this treaty stipulated that henceforth when the officers of the Nayak's court sent *olas* to the Company's officers they shall preface *olas* with the words *doet eerbiedigheyt* (does revere) written before the names of the Company's officers. This was the first time that such stipulation had been made and was indicative of the enhanced position the Dutch had begun to occupy in relation to the Nayak of Madura. Clause 3 of this treaty granted to the Dutch the right of monopoly which they have been seeking for so many years. It stated that no European nation, outside the Company, shall be permitted to live or carry on trade on this coast. The principle of mutual help in case of enemy attack on either party was accepted in clause 7. The acceptance of this obligation by the Dutch was a further change in Dutch policy, signifying the greater influence they wielded in this area.

In the last decade of the 17th century, there are signs that the Dutch were becoming increasingly uneasy about their monopolistic position in Madura. Rumours were reaching them, through their spies in the country that both the English and the French were seeking to negotiate with the Regent Queen Mangammal who was administering the kingdom in the name of the late Nayak's son Vijaya Ranga Chokka Natha. Instruction issued from Batavia enjoined the officials

56. *Corpus Dip.* III, pp. 528-30.

on the spot to take the utmost care and precaution against these moves and in particular to prevent the French, with whom the Dutch were then at war, from gaining an entry into the Madura court.[57]

To sum up, the aims of Dutch policy in this region in the period under review is thus seen to have been the securing of monopoly rights from the sovereign and the establishment of their power there in such strength as to be independent of the native authority. As a source for the supply of cloth to supplement and even supersede the markets of Coromandel, where competition of both European and Indian merchants was fierce, the Madura area was invaluable. The major obstacle was that the country was so much subject to wars and unrest that at times it was impossible to carry on peaceful and profitable trade. The Dutch hoped to build up Tuticorin into a city well-fortified both against attacks on land and on sea and thus attract artisans and craftsmen who would then carry on working in peace irrespective of what was happening in the rest of the country. The rulers, however, would not permit this. In securing trade monopoly, their policy of the time was to contract with the native sovereign a treaty which would make them the only European power that could settle and trade in the land. Armed with this treaty they would confront other European competitors and refuse them entry into that region. The Madura Nayaks refused to grant them this vital concession for a long time and gave in later only when their own position had become weaker and they were financially dependent on the Dutch. Inwardly the Dutch knew that such contracts were not inviolable and very often the English and French had, in other

57. Governor General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 13 August 1695, 23 November 1695. See *Memoir of Thomas Van Rhee for his successor Gerrit de Heere* (Colombo, 1915), pp. 38-39.

places, refused to recognise these exclusive rights. They also knew that if the Nayak found it more advantageous to ally with other European rulers he would not hesitate to do so. They would have to defend their claims with force. From the point of view of trade, the Madura ports were a fair prize for the Dutch, though they did not live upto their early promise because of the unsettled nature of the land. From the standpoint of Dutch power in Ceylon they were invaluable in providing a greater sense of security to the island. With the beginning of the 18th century, however, the interest of the English and the French in South India increased immensely as also did their influence and the comparative tranquillity of the earlier period was no more.

Indianised Inscriptions in North–Western Malaya

ALASTAIR LAMB

This paper is not intended as a detailed study of Malayan inscriptions, but rather as a catalogue of these inscriptions—which are far from numerous—and as a guide to the literature about them. I include under the term inscription not only lithic texts but also small inscribed objects of metal, stone and clay bearing in some cases no more than a single letter or symbol. All the inscriptions dealt with here are in Indian scripts and languages, but I have used the term 'Indianised' rather than 'Indian' because there is no evidence that any of them were executed by Indians, that is to say by persons from the Indian sub-continent who had migrated across the Bay of Bengal. These inscriptions tell us much about the nature of Indian *cultural* impact on the territory which now forms the Federation of Malaya; but they do not indicate in themselves any measure of Indian *political* influence. Our knowledge of the people who made these inscriptions, or who brought them to Malaya, is at present very slight; and it would be rash indeed, at this time, to base any elaborate historical theory upon them. All the inscriptions and inscribed objects referred to here have been discovered in four Malayan States, Perlis, Kedah, Province Wellesley and Perak, and they all date from before the 15th century of the Christian Era and the coming of Islam to Malaya.

1. MAHĀNĀVIKA BUDDHA GUPTA INSCRIPTION (Pl. 1)

Discovered by Colonel Low, over a century ago, near the south bank of the River Muda in Province Wellesley, this inscribed slate slab, 2'2" high, is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Three faces of the slab are inscribed, and one face also has the outline of a *stupa*. The text, in three distinct parts, has been transliterated by B. Ch. Chhabra as follows:

a. ajñānāc=cîyate karmma janmanaḥ kārana[m] jñānān=na cîyate [karmma karmmābhāvān= na jāyate]

b. mahānāvika buddha guptasya raktamrittikavās [tavayasya?]

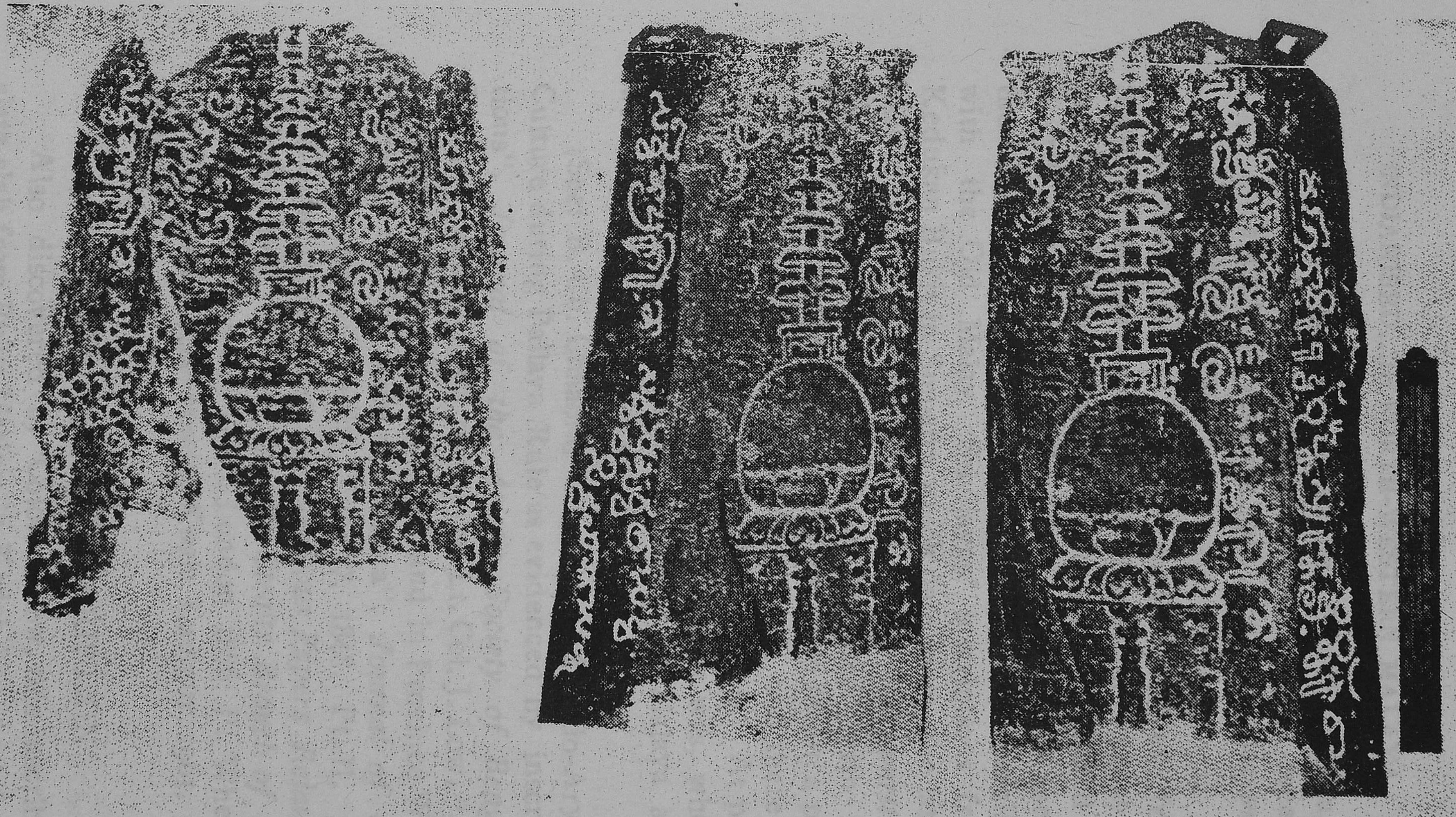
c. sarvveṇa prakārena sarvvasmin sarvvathā sa[r]vva....siddhayāt[r]ā[ḥ] santu

Chhabra has translated these lines as follows:

a. Through ignorance *karma* is accumulated. The cause of birth is *karma*. Through knowledge *karma* is not accumulated. Through absence of *karma* one is not re-born.

The above list, and the literature to which reference is made in it, enables one to draw attention to a number of points of some significance in any attempt to use the epigraphy of North-Western Malaya as historical source material.

1. The number of inscriptions is very small indeed. In part this may perhaps be explained by the deliberate destruction of Hindu and Buddhist writings by fanatical converts to Islam during that period from the 15th century A. D. onwards when the Muslim faith began to take firm root in Malayan soil. But it is hard to find complete satisfaction in this explanation; and one cannot avoid the conclusion that, while there was without doubt Islamic destruction of inscriptions, the real cause for the paucity of the Malayan epigraphical corpus is that there were very few inscriptions in the first place, which does not accord well with the belief that Malaya was once the seat of a really important Indianised state.



1. The **Mahanavika Buddhagupta** inscription from Province Wellesley. The inscription is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (Photo : Archaeological Survey of India)

b & c. of the great sea-captain Buddha gupta, a resident ·(?)of Raktamrttika....by all means, in all, in all respects....all. . .be they successful in their voyage.

Chhabra stated that the script (derived from South India) here was similar to that of the Purnavarman inscription in West Java, and could be dated to the 5th century A.D. On the other hand, in the use of the expression *siddhayātra*, Chhabra saw parallels with the Old Malay 'Srivijayan' inscriptions from Kedukan Bukit in Sumatra which date from the latter part of the 7th century A.D. The place *Raktamrttika* (Red-earth country) has been equated with the *Ch'ih-t'u* of Chinese sources, and taken to mean a port on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; but there is no real evidence for such an identification. At present we do not know who Buddha gupta was, where he came from, what he was doing in Malaya and when he reached these shores.

(See: B. Ch. Chhabra, "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule as evidenced by inscriptions", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. 1, 1935, pp. 16-20; Lt. Col. J. Low, "An account of several inscriptions found in Province Wellesley, on the Peninsula of Malacca", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 17, 1848, Pt. II, pp. 62-66, and reprinted in *Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-China reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, London 1886; P. Wheatley: *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, pp. 33,274.)

2. BUKIT MERIAM INSCRIPTION

Also discovered by Colonel Low, this inscribed slate slab from Bukit Meriam in Kedah has now been

lost. A copy was made by J. W. Laidlay which has been studied by Kern and Chhabra. The inscription (in a South Indian script) consists of two parts, the first being the so-called Buddhist creed which begins *ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ*, and the second being the same as (a) of the *Mahānāvika Buddha gupta* inscription. Laidlay's copy has not provided an adequate basis for dating on palaeographic grounds.

(See Chhabra, op. cit., pp. 14-15; *Papers Relating to Indo-China*, op. cit., pp. 232-234.)

3. CHEROK TOKUN INSCRIPTION

Yet another Colonel Low discovery, this is an inscribed granite boulder (again in a South Indian script) at Cherok Tokun near Bukit Meriam in Province Wellesley. No satisfactory transliteration of the writings on this boulder have ever been made, and the inscription is not discussed by Chhabra. There appear to be a number of separate inscriptions here, some of which are of probable Buddhist content. Laidlay published (see reference below) the texts on the basis of clay impressions sent to him by Low; and he provided the following translations:

a. I acknowledge the enemies of the contented king Ramaunibha and the wicked are ever afflicted;

b. This is said by Manikatha, the protectors of all great Buddhas;

c. In every form of life knowledge becomes mainfest everywhere and in every way;

d. Karma, which sports with passion, is the cause of transmigration.

(c) and (d) would appear to be very similar to (a) of the *Mahanavika Buddha gupta* inscription and the second part of the Bukit Meriam inscription. If this is so, then there may be grounds for treating these three inscriptions as a closely related group. The boulder has been much worn in recent years, and a number of names in Chinese and English have been scratched on it over the inscriptions which are, in consequence, no longer legible.

(See: *Papers Relating to Indo-China,* op. cit., pp. 227-232.)

4. INSCRIBED STONE TABLET FROM DR. WALES' KEDAH SITE NO. 1

Discovered by Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales just before the Second World War among the laterite foundations of a ruined shrine on Bukit Choras, Kedah, this small object just under 3″ long is inscribed (in a South Indian script) with the *ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ* formula which has already been noted in connection with the Bukit Meriam inscription. Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum, who first examined this inscribed object, dated it to not later than the 2nd half of the 4th century A. D. Recently, however, the inscription has been closely studied by Dr. de Casparis of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, who is reported to have come to the conclusion that it cannot be dated *earlier* than the 9th century A. D. The tablet is now preserved in the National (Raffles) Museum, Singapore.

(See: H.G.Q. Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya", ***Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,*** Vol. 18, Pt. I, 1940, p. 7; F.D.K. Bosch, " Review of ***Chandi***

Bukit Batu Pahat, by A. Lamb", *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* Afl. 117, Deel IV, pp. 489-90.)

5. INSCRIBED CLAY TABLET FROM DR. WALES' KEDAH SITE NO. 2 (Pl. 2)

Discovered by Dr. Wales at his site no. 2 on the Bujang River in Kedah, this is a tablet of sun-dried clay, $5\frac{1}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{8}''$, and inscribed on three faces with six lines which Mr. Allan transliterated as follows:

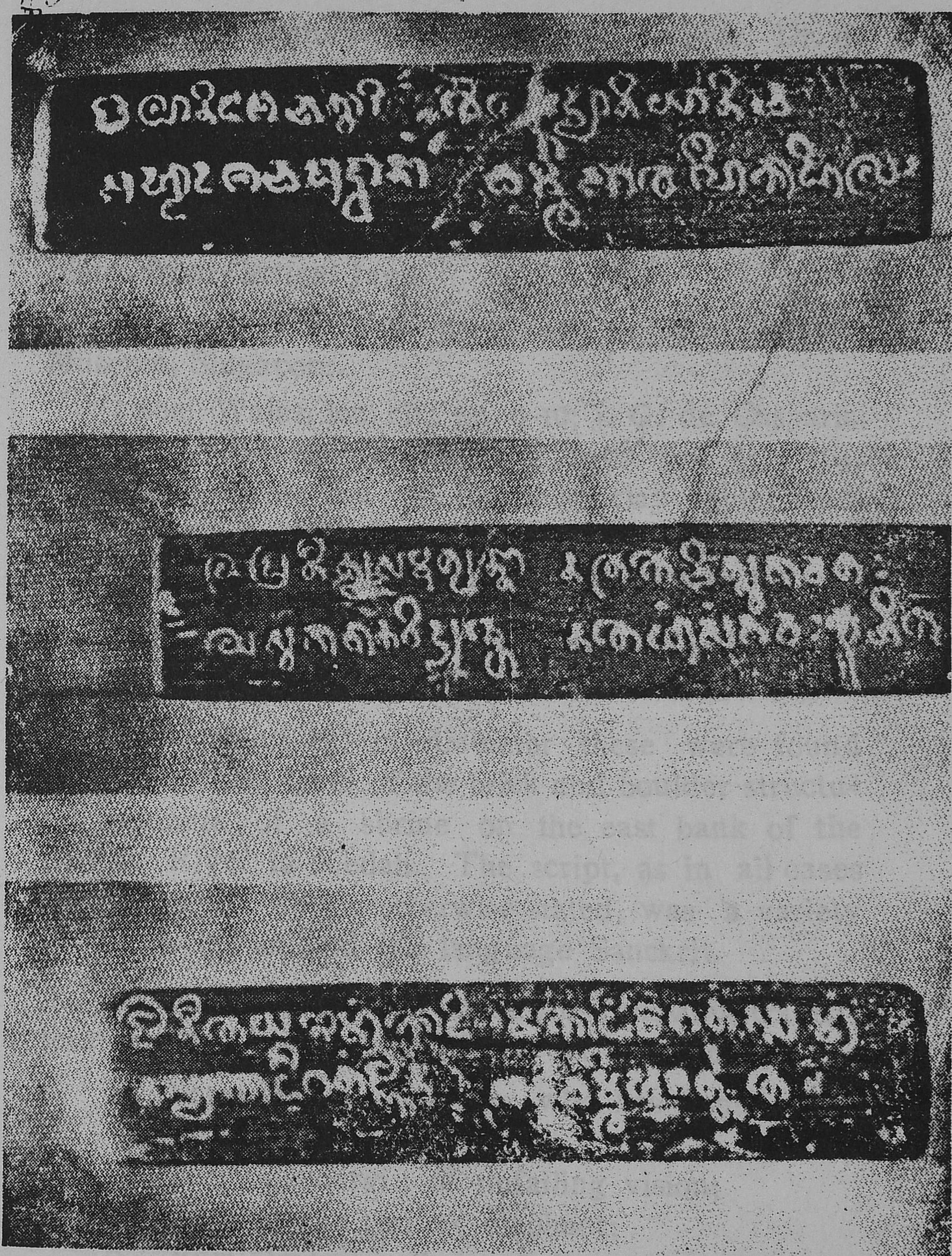
Balāni daśa catvāri vaiśaradyāni yāni ca
Astādaśa ca Buddhānāṃ dharmmā āvenikā hi ye
Ye pratityasamutpannā na te kecit svabhāvatah
Ye svabhavān na vidyante tesām sambhavah kvacit
Jānite ya imām koṭiṃ jagatas samaṃ
Tasya kotiṃ gataṁ jñānam sarvva dharmeṣu varttate.

This was translated as follows:

There are ten *balas* (powers), four *vaiś*aradyas (assurances, extraordinary skills) and eighteen *dharma āveṇikas* (independent qualities) of the Buddhas. The *dharmas* (moments of consciousness) which arise from co-operating circumstances have in no case real existence; there can nowhere be any *(dharmas)* which do not exist in a state of unreality. Who knows this summit of the universe to be at the same time no summit—his knowledge, having reached the summit, extends over all dharmas.

Dr. Chakravarti, who examined this clearly Mahayana Buddhist inscription in Pallava script, dated it to

2. The majority of the surviving inscriptions appear to be Mahayana Buddhist, and to contain very simple texts. If we exclude the doubtful case of the Kuala Selinsing seal (No. 11) and the even more doubtful case of the Cherok Tokun boulder (No. 3)-in which Laidlay was tempted to see the name of one King *Ramaunibha*-no fact of secular import emerges from any of these inscriptions.



2. Inscribed clay tablet from Dr. Wales' Kedah site no. 2. (Photo: Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society)

the early 6th century A. D. Recently, however, Dr. de Casparis has argued that it probably dates from the middle of the 7th century A. D., its script being a slightly earlier form than that shown in the Sumatran 'Srivijayan' inscriptions. Dr. de Casparis has related the text of this inscription to that found on some gold plates from Central Java.

The tablet is now preserved in the National Museum, Singapore.

[See: Wales, loc. cit., pp. 9-10; J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia II*, Bandung 1956, pp. 51, 104; A. Lamb, "Note on an inscribed clay tablet from Dr. Wales' Kedah site no. 2". *Federation Museums Journal* 1961, p.38; Bosch, loc. cit., pp. 489-90.)

6. ONE GOLD AND SIX INSCRIBED DISCS FROM DR. WALES' KEDAH SITE NO. 10

Each about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter these were found below the floor level of the brick and boulder structural remains of a shrine on the east bank of the Bujang River in Kedah. The script, as in all cases in this paper, unless otherwise stated, was a variety of South Indian and the language Sanskrit.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti made the following transliterations and translations of the six silver discs:

a. Sarvv-āpāya-jaha : one who has removed all evils;
b. [A]moghadarśi : of unfailing vision;
c. Gandhahasti : musk elephant;
d. Vajr-ā[m]gabandha : of diamond bull;
e. Could not be read;
f. Could not be read.

Dr. Chakravarti thought these discs referred to the names of Bodhisattvas.

Mr. Allan examined the gold disc, which he thought contained the isolated syllable *om*.

Professor Bosch thought that disc (d) might read Vajrabandheçvara: The Lord of the Dimond Bondage. Disc (f) he read *Samantabhadra*, which is the name of a Bodhisattva.

Dr. Chakravarti dated these discs, on the basis of Indian parallels, to the 8th century A. D., while Professor Bosch dated them to the second half of the 9th century A. D., a conclusion which Dr. de Casparis has accepted.

(See: Wales, loc. cit., pp. 23-24; Bosch, loc. cit., pp. 489-90.)

7. INSCRIBED FRAGMENT OF SILVER FROM DR. WALES' KEDAH SITE NO. 14

This was found by Dr. Wales in an earthenware jar which had been one of the foundation deposits of a shrine on the east bank of the Bujang River in Kedah. The inscription, executed on both sides of what appears to have been part of the rim of a silver vessel, is brief, is in a South Indian script, and according to Mr. Allan, is probably in Pali; but Mr. Allan was unable to make any coherent reading. Mr. Allan thought the date might be 6th or 7th century A.D., but it should be noted that the inscription was found in direct association with a coin of the Abbasid Caliphate dated 848 A. D. Either the inscription is much older than the site in which it was found, or it dates from not before the middle of the 9th century A. D.

(See: Wales, loc. cit., p. 32.)

8. SIX GOLD DISCS FROM CHANDI BUKIT BATU PAHAT, KEDAH (Pls. 3 and 4)

These were discovered by the author of this paper in 1958 and 1959 while excavating Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat (Dr. Wales' site no. 8). Each disc was found inside a copper pot which, in its turn, was within a granite casket 7"cube. The granite caskets were located beneath the walls of the sanctuary of this stone shrine, and they marked the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. There were originally eight such caskets, but two were plundered in antiquity. Each disc was about 1½" in diameter, and each, like the gold disc from Wales' site no. 10, contained a single syllable. The discs, according to M. L. C. Damais, relate to the eight *lokapala*, and have parallels in Central Java in the period 8th to 10th century A.D. Of the scratched on symbols on these discs Professor Bosch, after discussion with Dr. de Casparis, writes as follows:

The queer thing about these inscriptions is that, though each of them claims to represent a letter, actually they are mere scrawls imitating letters and making the impression of being scratched into the metal by someone who had a hazy notion about old javanese script but did not know the rights of it. Meanwhile, it is not doubtful that at the base of the said imitation must have been a kind of script closely related to that of Ligor and the somewhat later Central Javanese inscriptions.

3. At present, of the inscriptions which seem capable of being dated on palaeographic grounds, only the *Mahanavika Buddha gupta* inscription (No. 1) can still be held to date from earlier than the 7th century A. D., and even here there are parallels with the Sumatran 'Srivijayan' inscription's which suggest that a 7th century date might not be out of the question.

4. None of the inscriptions listed above contains a date, and only No. 7 occurs in direct association with a dated object.

(See: A. Lamb, *Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat*, Singapore 1960; Bosch. loc. cit., pp. 487-88.)

9. TWO SMALL INSCRIBED PIECES OF STONE FROM PENGKALAN BUJANG, KEDAH

These were discovered by the author of this paper in 1961 while excavating a vast mass of debris in swampy ground near the mouth of the Bujang River. One, a small slate tablet 1″ × ¼″ × ½″, is covered with minute letters scratched on it which appear to be Tamil or imitation Tamil (according to Professor Thani Nayagam) but which cannot be read. The other is a fragment of stone with a single letter, *ka*, scratched on it in a North Indian script.

(See: A. Lamb, "Research at Pengkalan Bujang, preliminary report", *Federation Museums Journal 1961*.)

10. MAHAYANA BUDDHIST VOTIVE TABLETS FROM TWO CAVES IN PERLIS. (Pls. 5-7)

Several hundred votive tablets of sun-dried clay have recently (November 1961) been recovered from

5. With the exception of Nos. 7 and 8, none of the inscription occurs in a particularly useful association with a structure. Nos. 7 and 8, of course, are from foundation deposits.

6. The Malayan inscriptions contain a surprising number of errors and omissions. The implication, much reinforced by the gold discs described in No. 8, is that the culture which produced these inscriptions was, to say the least, far removed from the centres of learning in metropolitan India. To see in these inscriptions evidence that North-Western Malaya played an important part in the spread of Indian influence into Southeast Asia is to draw conclusions which, to be charitable, one may well call far-fetched.

7. The inscriptions listed here, in fact, can only be described as being extremely provincial. For this reason it would seem to be very dangerous to assign dates to them on the basis of Indian practice. It seems likely that in North-Western Malaya forms of script would have survived for many centuries after they had gone out of use in metropolitan India. Until we discover a *dated* Malayan inscription as a reference point, it is unlikely

two caves near Kangar in Perlis. These caves, Gua Berhala and Gua Kurong Batang, are both in limestone formations, and in them the votive tablets are found lying on the surface. The caves contain no sculptures and no inscriptions on the walls. Most of the tablets contain impressions of *Avalokitesvara* and other Bodhisattvas, but some of them also have a line or two of writing, always in a North Indian script and, apparently, in each case containing the *ye dharma* formula. Some of the tablets from Gua Berhala, of the kind illustrated here, have text only. The tablet illustrated here was shown to Dr. Chhabra, who confirmed that it did indeed contain the *ye-dharma* formula, and who felt that, if found in India, it might date to the 11th century A. D. These votive tablets from Perlis are of the same basic type as those from South Thailand which Coedes studied and which he called his "Type II". Coedes dated these tablets to the 9th to 11th centuries A. D., and thought they were related to 'Srivijaya'.

(See: G. Coedes, "Siamese Votive Tablets", *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 20, 1926; A. Lamb, "Kedah and Takuapa, some tentative historical conclusions", *Federation Museums Journal*, 1961, pp. 76-78.)

11. THE KUALA SELINSING SEAL

At Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak, I.H.N. Evans picked up in 1929 a small carnelian seal bearing in intaglio the inscription *Srivishnuvarmmasya*. The

that palaeographical research will provide anything more than the *earliest* possible dates. The provincial nature of early Indianised settlement in North-Western Malaya, moreover, as Professor Bosch has noted, can also be seen when this region is compared to any of the major centres of civilization in Southeast Asia; and, perhaps, Javanese parallels should be treated with as great caution, for example, as Indian parallels.

script is South Indian. Chhabra has argued that the seal refers to the King Vishnu of the Ligor Stele, and that therefore it dates to the late 8th century A.D. The arguments for this are not very convincing. Chhabra also points out that the inscription contains a grammatical error, the correct genitive of *varman* being *varmanah*.

(See: Chhabra, op. cit., pp. 27-28; *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, Vol. 15, containing various papers on Kuala Selinsing by I. H. N Evans; Sir R. Braddell, "The Perak 'Pallava' seal", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 12, Pt. I, 1934.)

கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப்பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார்

ந. சுப்பிரமணியன்

இலக்கியம் வாயிலாக நாம் அறியும் பண்டைத்தமிழர், மிகு பழங்காலந்தொட்டே கடவுள் வழிபாட்டை மேற்கொண்டவர் என்பது பல சான்றுகளாலும் அறியப்படுவதாம். அவர் வழிபட்ட கடவுள் 'கலிகெழு கடவுள் உறைந்த கந்தே'யாயினும் 'கடவுள் எழுத'ப் பயன்பட்ட கல்லேயாயினும், பாவை செய்ய அமைந்த சுதையேயாயினும், அவர் மறியறுத்துத் தினை பரப்பி வெறியாடி வழிபட்டனராயினும், அன்றி 'மந்திர மரபிற் றெய்வம் பேணி'னராயினும், அன்பு மீதூரக் கடவுளை வழிபட்டனராயினும், அச்சத்தால் உந்தப்பெற்று வழிபட்டனராயினும் அவர்கட்குக் கடவுள் வழிபாடு உண்டு என்பது ஒருதலை. அவர்கள் கடவுளைச் செயன்முறையில் வழிபட்டதோடு, இலக்கியத்தில் தங்கள் கடவுட்கொள்கைகளைக் குறித்தும் வைத்துள்ளார்கள்.

ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார்,

> "கொடிநிலை கந்தழி வள்ளி யென்ற
> வடுநீங்கு சிறப்பின் முதலன மூன்றுங்
> கடவுள் வாழ்த்தொடு கண்ணிய வருமே."

என்று புறத்திணையியலிற்கூறினார். அதற்கு உரை வகுத்த நச்சினார்க்கினியர், 'கந்தழி'யை விளக்கிய போது, "கந்தழியாவது, ஒரு பற்றுக்கோடின்றி அருவாகித் தானே நிற்குந் தத்துவங் கடந்த பொருள்," என்று கூறி, திருமுருகாற்றுப் படைக்குத் தாம் வகுத்த உரையில், "கந்தழியாவது, ஒரு பற்றுமற்று அருவாய்த் தானே நிற்குந் தத்துவங் கடந்த பொருள்," என்றும் கூறினார். அஃதாவது, பாடாண்டிணையில் 'செத்துப் பிறக்கும் மக்களேயன்றிப் பிறப்பிறப்பில்லா முழுமுதற்கடவுளரும் வாழ்த்திற்குரியர்,' என்பதே அச்சூத்திரத்தின் பருப்பொருள் என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருத்து. அன்றியும், தொல்காப்பியனார் செய்யுளியலில்,

> " ஏனை யொன்றே,
> தேவர்ப் பராஅய முன்னிலைக் கண்ணே."

என்றார். அதற்கு உரை வகுத்த பேராசிரியர், "ஒழிந்த ஒத்தாழிசை முன்னிலையிடமாகத் தேவரைப் பராவும் பொருண்மைத்து," என்று உரைத்தார். சிலப்பதிகாரம் கடலாடு காதையில் "மாயோன் பாணியும்" என்றவிடத்தில், "தேவர்ப் பராயது முத்தமிழுக்கும் பொது; அஃது இயற்றமிழில் வருங்கால் கொச்சகவொருபோகாய் வரும்," என்றார் அடியார்க்கு நல்லார்.

கடவுள் வாழ்த்து இலக்கணம் இவ்வாறாக, இலக்கியத்தில் 'முக்கட் செல்வர் நகர்வலம் செயற்கே' *(புறம். 6)* என்றும்,

> " தாருடைப் புரவி
> அணங்குடை முருகன் கோட்டத்துக்
> கலந்தொடா மகளிரின் இகழ்ந்துநின் றவ்வே".
>
> *(புறம். 299)*

என்றும்,

> 'நீ, நல்வாயிற் போத்தந்த பொழுதி னெல்லா
> கடவுட் கடிநகர் தோறு மிவனை
> வலங்கொளீஇ வா'

(கலி. 84: 4—6) என்றும்,

> ' பத்தினிக் கோட்டம் படிப்புறம் வகுத்து
> நித்தல் விழாவணி நிகழ்கென் றேவி...
> வலமுறை மும்முறை வந்தனன்;
>
> *(சிலப். 30. 151, 152, 155)*

என்றும் கூறுதலால், கடவுளுக்குக் கோயில் சமைத்து வழிபடுதல் அக்காலத்து உளதாய மரபு என்பது பெற்றாம்; அன்றியும், 'முக்கட் பகவன் அடிதொழா தார்க்கின்னா,' என்றும், 'எண்குணத்தான் தாள்' என்றும் கூறியமையால், அவர்கட்குக் கடவுள் உருவ வழிபாடும் உண்டு என்பதும் போதரும். சங்ககாலத் தமிழர்க்குக் கடவுட்கொள்கை, கோயில், படிம வழிபாடு, உருவ வழிபாடு என்பன உண்டோ என்று ஐயுறுவார்க்கு ஐயம் களைய இத்துணையும் கூற வேண்டுவதாயிற்று.

இனி, பிற்காலத் தமிழ் இலக்கியங்களை நோக்குவார்க்கு அவற்றில் ஒன்றேனும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச்செய்யுள் அல்லது செய்யுள்கள் இன்றித் தொடங்குவது இல்லை என்பது தெளிவாம். தேவாரச் செய்யுள்களுள் ஒவ்வொன்றும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாதலின், அவற்றின் தொகையான திருமுறை களுக்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து வேண்டுவதின்று என்று நம்பி யாண்டார் நம்பிகள் கருதினர் போலும்! திருத்தக்கதேவர், நந்திக்கலம்பக ஆசிரியர் தொட்டு மீனுட்சிசுந்தரம் பிள்ளை ஈருகத் தமிழ்ப்புலவர்கள் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தின்றித் தங்கள் நூல்களைத் தொடங்கவில்லை. ஆனல், 'எடுத்துக்கொண்ட இலக்கியம் இனிது முடிதற்பொருட்டுக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக் கூறவேண்டுவது இன்றியமையாதது,' என்று சங்ககாலத்தார் கருதினரோ என்பது ஆராய்ச்சிக்குரியது. பதினெண்கீழ்க் கணக்கில் பழமொழி ஆசிரியர், நாலடியாரைத் தொகுத்தவர், அறநெறிச்சாரம், ஏலாதி, திரிகடுகம், நான்மணிக்கடிகை என்பவற்றின் ஆசிரியர்கள் சமணர்களாதலின், தாங்கள் வழி படு கடவுளரை வாழ்த்தி அவ்வந்நூன்முகத்தே அமைத்தார் கள் என்க. திருக்குறளுக்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து, 'கொடிநிலை கந்தழி' என்ற தொடக்கத்தினையுடைய தொல்காப்பியப் புறத்திணையியற்சூத்திரத்தைப் பின்பற்றி அமைந்ததாக மு. இராகவ ஐயங்காரவர்கள் கருதுவார். அன்றியும், அந் நூற் கடவுள்வாழ்த்து பாயிரத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாகவே அமைந்துள்ளது.

எட்டுத்தொகை, பத்துப்பாட்டு ஆகிய சங்க நூல்கள் இவற்றையும் பதினெண்கீழ்க்கணக்கு நூல்களையும் தவிரச் சங்க நூல்களில் முழுநூலாக இதுவரை நின்று நிலவுவது தொல்காப்பியம் ஒன்றே. அதற்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து இருப்ப தாகப் புலப்படவில்லை. கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பெற்றும் நன்னூல் முற்றிலும் நின்று நிலவவில்லை என் றும், அவ்வாழ்த்துப் பெருதிருந்தும் தொல்காப்பியம் முற்றிலும் நின்று நிலவுகின்றது என்றும் எதிர்மறை, உடன்பாடு ஆகிய இரு முகத்தானும் கூறுதல் பிற்காலத் தாரது சமற்காரமே என்க. மணிமேகலை கடவுள் வாழ்த் தோடு தொடங்குவதில்லை; "திங்களைப் போற்றுதும் ...." என்று சிலப்பதிகாரம் தொடங்கினும், அஃதும் பிற்காலத்தில்

'மதிவாழி ரவிவாழி மழை வாழியே'' என்று தக்கயாகப்பரணி, தொடங்குவதுபோல ஒரு வகைக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தே என்று கொண்டாலும், மங்கல வாழ்த்துப் பாடலுக்கு முன்பு உரை பெறு கட்டுரையுண்மையால் அது கடவுள் வாழ்த்து ஆகாமையுணர்க.

ஈதிவ்வாறாக, தொகை நூல்களான பத்துப்பாட்டு, எட்டுத்தொகைகளுள் பத்துப்பாட்டினைத் தொகுத்தோர், திரு முருகாற்றுப்படையையே கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாக அத்தொகைக்கு அமைத்தார் என்று கொள்ளலாம் எட்டுத்தொகைகளுள் கலித்தொகைக்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து, அத்தொகையுள் நெய் தற்கலியை இயற்றியதோடு அத்தொகையையும் முடித்தவ ராகிய நல்லந்துவனாரால் இயற்றப்பெற்று அஃது இறைவன் வாழ்த்தாக அமைகின்றது. பரிபாடலின் முதற்பகுதி யும், இறுதிப் பகுதியும் எந்தப் பிரதியிலும் கிடையாமை யாலும், 'கட்டுரை வகையான்' என்னும் தொல்காப்பியச் செய்யுளியற்சூத்திர உரையில் இளம்பூரண அடிகளால் காட்டப்பெற்ற மேற்கோள்களுள் ஒன்றான ''ஆயிரம் விரித்த அணங்குடை யிருந்தலை'' என்று தொடங்கும் திருமால் வாழ்த்தினையே பரிபாடற்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாகக் கருதிப் பதிப்பித்தனர். அங்ஙனம் இருத்தலும் கூடுமாயினும், வேறு கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள் ஒன்று இருந்து, அது பரிபாடல் முதற்பகுதியோடு மறைந்து போயிருத்தல் கூடும் என்றும் கருத இடமுண்டு. பரிபாடல் நூலகத்தே திருமால், முருகன் ஆகியோர்க்கும் வாழ்த்துப்பாடல்கள் உள என் பதையும், 'இப்பதினான்கும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து' என்று ஐய ரவர்கள் கூறுமாற்றையும் நோக்குக. பதிற்றுப்பத்தின் முதற்பத்துக் கிடையாமையால், அப்பத்தோடு அதற்கு முன்பு சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருந்த கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுளும் மறைந்து போயிற்றுப்போலும்! நூல் நின்று நிலவுவதற் காகக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடிச் சேர்த்தனர் என்று அறிஞர் கூறுநிற்ப, நூல் நின்று நிலவுகையில், அதன் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள் மட்டும் மறைந்து போகும் விந்தையும் உண்டு போலும்!

எட்டுத்தொகைகளுள் மேற்கூறியவை நீங்கலாக எஞ்சிய நற்றிணை, குறுந்தொகை, ஐங்குறுநூறு, அக

நானூறு, புறநானூறு என்னும் தொகைகட்கு முன்பு கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடல்கள் சேர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவற்றில் நற்றிணைக்குத் திருமால் வாழ்த்தும், குறுந்தொகைக்கு முருகன் வாழ்த்தும், ஐங்குறுநூறு, அகம், புறம் என்ப வற்றிற்குச் சிவபெருமான் வாழ்த்தும் அமைந் துள்ளன. இவை பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனுர் என்னும் புலவரால் இயற்றப் பெற்றவை. இதை நோக்குங்கால் பதிற்றுப்பத்து, பரிபாடல் ஆகியவற்றில் இப்புலவர் இயற் றிய பாடல்கள் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாகச் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருந்து இப்பொழுது காணப்பெருவோ என்னும் ஐயுறவு பிறக்கின் றது. இங்ஙனம் அமைந்த கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக்களிலேனும், அன்றிச் சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் குறிக்கப்பெற்றுள்ள கடவுளரு ளேனும் யானை முகக்கடவுளான கணபதியைக் காண்ப தில்லை. ஆனுல், அப்பர், சம்பந்தர் ஆகியோர் தேவாரப் பதிகங்களில் ஆறு இடங்களில் இக்கடவுள் பெயர் காணப் பெறுகின்றது. ஆதலால், இக்கடவுள் வழிபாடு சங்க காலத்தில் அறியப்படாதது என்பதும், கி. பி. ஏழாம் நூற் ருண்டிற்குப் பிறகு அறியப்பட்டது என்பதும் புலனும். ஆதலால், சங்கத்தார் அறிந்த கடவுளர், ஆலமர் செல்வ னுன இறைவன், முருகன், திருமால், வாலியோன், இந்தி ரன் முதலியோரும், கலைமகள், திங்கள் ஆகியோரும், சதுக் கப்பூதம் முதலியனவும் என்க. பௌத்தரான சாத்தனுரும், சிவபெருமானை 'நுதல்விழி நாட்டத் திறையோன்' என்ற தாலும், தமிழர் தம் தனிப்பெருங்கடவுளான முருகனும் 'பைங் கட்பார்ப்பா, னுமையொடுபுணர்ந்த காம வதுவையு, ளமை யாப் புணர்ச்சி யமைய'த் தோன்றியவன் என்று கடுவனிள வெயினனுர் பரிபாடலிற் கூறினமையாலும், ஐந்து தொகை நூல்களுள் திரிபுரமெரித்த இறையவனுக்கு மூன்றும், முருகனுக்கு ஒன்றும், திருமாலுக்கு ஒன்றும் வாழ்த்தாக அமைந்தமையும் முறைமையே என்க.

இக்கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்கள் ஐந்தினையும் பாடிய வர் பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனுர் என்பார். சங்ககாலத் தில் இராமாயண பாரதக் கதைகள் தமிழகத்தில் பெருவழக் கினவாயிருந்தன என்பது சங்க இலக்கியம் கற்பார் அறிந்ததே. அக்காலத்தே இராமாயணம் மொழிபெயர்க்கப்

படவில்லையாயினும், பாரதம் இப்பெருந்தேவனாரால் உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுளாகத் தமிழில் ஆக்கப் பெற்றது. தொல்காப்பியச் செய்யுளியற்சூத்திரம் 173 உரையில் பேராசிரியர், எடுத்துக்காட்டாகப் பாரதத்தைக் கூறியமையே இதற்குச் சான்று. அச்சங்ககாலத்துப் பாரத நூலில் சில பாடல்கள் நீங்கலாகப் பிற நமக்கு இன்னும் கிடைக்கவில்லை. தொல்காப்பியம் புறத்திணையியல் உரையில் நச்சினார்க்கினியராலும், வீரசோழிய உரையாலும், யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியுரையாலும்,புறத்திரட்டாலும் கிடைத்த சில பாடல்களே இவை. இவற்றைத் தொகுப்பின் ஐம்பது பாடல்களுக்கு மிகா. இப்பாடலகளில் பல வெண்பாக்களும் சில ஆசிரியப்பாக்களும் ஆம். அந்நூலின் இடையீட்ட உரைப்பகுதிகள் கிடைக்கப்பெறவில்லை. தகடூர் யாத்திரை போன்ற வேறு சில நூல்களும் இங்ஙனமே பெரும்பகுதி இறந்தொழிந்தமை காண்க.

இஃதிவ்வாறாக, 'பாரதவெண்பா' என்னும் நூலையியற்றிய பெருந்தேவனார் ஒருவர் உளர். அவர் இயற்றிய நூலும் பாரதம். அப்பாரதச் செய்யுள்களிற்பல வெண்பாக்களே; அவையும் உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுளே. அவர் பெயரும் பெருந்தேவனார் என்பதே. இரு நூல்களும் முற்றிலும் கிடைக்கவில்லை. இவ்வொற்றுமைகளால், பெருந்தேவனார் இருவரும் ஒருவரே என்று சிலர் மயங்கிக் கூறினர். அ. கோபாலய்யரவர்கள் பதிப்பித்த 'பெருந்தேவனார் பாரத வெண்பா' என்னும் நூலின் முகவுரையில் டாக்டர் எஸ். கிருஷ்ணசுவாமி ஐயங்காரவர்கள் இது மயக்கம் ஆமாற்றை நன்கு விளக்குகிறார். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் முதலிய உரையாசிரியர்களால் மேற்கோளாகக் காட்டப்பெற்ற பாரதச் செய்யுள்களுள் ஒன்றேனும் பாரதவெண்பா என்னும் நூலிற் காணப்பெறவில்லை. இரு நூல்களின் செய்யுள் நடைகளும் வேறுபடுவதோடு, பாரதவெண்பாவின் இடையிடையே வரும் உரைப்பகுதிகளில் எண்ணிறந்த வடசொற்களும் பயின்று வருகின்றன. இது சங்ககால இலக்கிய மரபுக்குப் பெரிதும் மாறுபடுகின்றது. 'அன்றியும், பாரத வெண்பாவின் முன் கணபதி வணக்கச் செய்யுள் ஒன்று காண்கின்றது. எனவே, கணபதியையே அறியாத சங்கத்தார் காலத்ததாக அந்நூலைக்

கருத இயலாது. பாரத வெண்பாவின் தொடக்கத்தில் பரி பாலகர் வாழ்த்தில் 'தெள்ளாறு' எறிந்த ஒரு மன்னனைப் பற்றிய குறிப்பு ஒன்று உளது. இது தெள்ளாறு எறிந்த மூன்றும் நந்திவர்மன் என்னும் பல்லவ மன்னனையே குறிக் கும் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை. அஃதாயின், பாரத வெண்பாப் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் கி. பி. ஒன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டின் இடைக்காலத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர் எனலாம். இஃதிவ்வாறாக, கி. பி. எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சேர்ந்த வேள்விக் குடிச் சாசனத்தில் சங்கம் வளர்த்த பாண்டியர் காலத்தில் தமிழில் 'பாரதம்' இயற்றப் பெற்றமை குறிக்கப்படுகின்றது. இக்குறிப்பு, பாரதவெண்பாவைக் குறியாது; சங்ககாலப் பாரதத்தையே குறிக்கும் எனலே பொருந்தும்.

ஆதலால், சங்ககாலத்தே, அதாவது கி. பி. 4-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிற்கு முன்பு உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யு ளாக வெண்பாவும் ஆசிரியப்பாவும் விரவிவந்த பாரதநூல் ஒன்று பெருந்தேவனார் என்பவரால் இயற்றப்பட்டு. அது 'தகடூர் யாத்திரை' முதலிய பிற சில நூல்களைப்போலப் பல்லவர் காலத்தே இறந்துபட்டது; ஆதலால், அப் பெரியார் பெயரை இட்டுக்கொண்ட வேறொருவர் பாரதக் கதையை மறுபடியும் உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யு ளாகவே பாடி முடித்தார்; நாளடைவில் அதுவும் பெரும் பான்மை மறைந்து போய்ச் சிறுபான்மை எஞ்சவே, பிற் காலச் சோழர் காலத்தே வில்லிபுத்தூரார் தம் பாரதத்தை இயற்றுவாராயினர். இதுவே தமிழில் பாரதம் மொழி பெயர்த்து அமைக்கப்பெற்ற வரலாறு என்க.

இனி, நற்றிணை, குறுந்தொகை, ஐங்குறுநூறு அகநா னூறு புறநானூறு, என்னும் சங்கத் தொகைநூல்களுக்கு முன் காணப்பெறும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்கள் 'பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார்' என்பவரால் இயற்றப்பெற்றவை. இவற்றில் நற்றிணைக்குத் திருமால் வாழ்த்தும், குறுந் தொகைக்கு முருகன் வாழ்த்தும், ஐங்குறுநூறு, அகநானூறு, புறநானூறு ஆகியவற்றிற்கு இறைவன் வாழ்த்தும் அமைந் துள்ளன. இவ்வாழ்த்துக்களை ஒருவரே பாடியுள்ளமை யால், அவரது சமயப் பொது நோக்குப் புலப்படுகிறது. இப்பொது நோக்குச் சங்ககாலக் கடவுட்கொள்கையோடு

ஒத்திருத்தலும் காணப் பெறும். திருவள்ளுவ மாலையிற் காணும் 'எப்பொழுதும் யாரும்' என்று தொடங்கும் வெண் பாவினை இயற்றியவர் இவரே என்று சிலர் கருதுவராயினும், திருவள்ளுவமாலை என்னும் நூல் முழுவதுமே பிற்காலத்தே ஒருவரால் எழுதப்பட்டது என்னுங்கருத்தே வலியுடைத்தாத லால், அவ்வெண்பாவைப் பாடியவர் இவரல்லர் என்க.

இனி, சங்ககாலத்துள்ளும் இவர் எக்காலத்தினர் என் பதைத் துணிதல் வேண்டும்.

தொகை நூல்கள் தொகுக்கப்பட்ட காலத்திற்கு இவர் பிற்பட்டவராயிருந்து அத்தொகைகளுக்கு இவரே கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்களைப் பாடிச் சேர்த்திருக்கக் கூடும் என் பது கருத்தாயின், கலித்தொகையைத் தொகுத்தவர் தாமே கடவுள் வாழ்த்தை இயற்றி அத்தொகைக்கு முன் அமைத் ததை நோக்கின், தொகுப்பு ஆசிரியரே கடவுள் வாழ்த்தைத் தொகைகளுக்கு முன்பு அமைத்துவிடுவது மரபு என்பது பெறப்படும். அன்றியும், நீண்ட ஆசிரியப்பாக்களால் (பெரும் பாலும்) அமைந்த பத்துப்பாட்டின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாக அத் தகைய ஆசிரியப்பாவான திருமுருகாற்றுப்படையாகவும், கலித்தொகையின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக் கலிப்பாவாகவும், பரி பாடலின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பரிபாடலாகவும், நாலடியார், பழமொழியாகிய நூல்களின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து வெண்பாவாக வும், திருக்குறளின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக் குறட்பாவாகவும் அமைந்துள்ளமையும் நோக்குக. ஆதலின், இவ்வைந்து தொகை நூல்களின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்களும் சில அடிகளானியின்ற ஆசிரியப்பாவாக அமைதலே பொருத்த முடைத்து. பெருந்தேவனாரது கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக்கள் பெற்ற ஐந்து தொகைநூல்களுள் குறுந்தொகை முடித்தார் பூரிக்கோ என்பது அறியப்படுகின்றது; ஆனால், அத்தொகுத்தா ரைப்பற்றி நாம் பிருண்டு கேள்வியுறுவதில்லை; அன்றியும், தொகுப்பித்தார் யார் என்பதும் தெரியவில்லை; ஆதலால், தொகுப்பித்தார் ஒருவர் இன்றித் தாமே பூரிக்கோ குறுந் தொகையைத் தொகுத்தார் என்று கொள்ளுதல் பொருந்தும். அற்றேல், குறுந்தொகை உரையாசிரியரான உ. வே. சுவாமிநாத ஐயரவர்கள். "குறுந்தொகையிலுள்ள சொற் றொடர்காரணமாகப் பெயர் பெற்ற புலவர்கள் அப்பெயரா

லேயே பிறநூல்களில் வழங்கப்பெறுவது போல அந்நூல்களிலுள்ள செய்யுட்பகுதி காரணமாகப் பெயர் பெற்றாரது பெயர் ஒன்றேனும் குறுந்தொகையில் வரவில்லை. இதனால், முதலிற் குறுந்தொகை தொகுக்கப்பட்டது என்பது தெளிவாகும்,'' என்பர். ஆனால், சற்று ஊன்றிப்பார்க்குங்கால் ஐயரவர்கள் முடிபு பொருத்தமுடைத்தாகத் தோன்றவில்லை. ஏனெனில், காக்கைபாடினியார் நச்செள்ளையாருக்குச் சிறப்புப் பெயர் குறுந்தொகைச் செய்யுளால் வந்தது; ஆதலால், அப்புலவர் குறுந்தொகைச் செய்யுளை முதற்கண் இயற்றிப் பதிற்றுப்பத்து, புறநானூறு முதலிய தொகை நூல்களுள் காணப்பெறும் செய்யுள்களைப் பிறகு இயற்றினர் என்பது பெறப்படுமேயன்றிக் குறுந்தொகை பிறதொகை நூல்களுக்கு முன்பே தொகுக்கப்பட்டது என்பது உறுதியாகாது. ஆதலால், தொகை நூல்களுக்குள் குறிப்பிட்ட எத்தொகையின் கால வரலாற்றையும் வரையறுத்தல் இயலாது.

அஃதேயாயினும், அகநானூற்றினைத் தொகுப்பித்த உக்கிரப் பெருவழுதியார் மூன்றாஞ்சங்கத்தின் இறுதியில் அரசாண்ட பாண்டிய மன்னர் என்பது பெரும்பாலும் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது. அந்நூலுக்கும் பெருந்தேவனாரது கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள் உருத்திரசர்மரால் முன் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருத்தலின், அவர் காலத்திற்கும் முற்பட்டவராகப் பெருந்தேவனாரைக் கருதலாம். அன்றியும், ஐங்குறுநூறு தொகுப்பித்த யானைக்கட்சேய் மாந்தரஞ்சேரலிரும்பொறையை வென்ற தலையாலங்கானத்துச் செரு வென்ற நெடுஞ்செழியன் உக்கிரப் பெருவழுதிக்கு முற்பட்டவனாதலின் பெருந்தேவனார் தலையாலங்கானத்து நெடுஞ்செழியற்கும் முற்பட்டவராதல் வேண்டும்! அதாவது, கி. பி. இரண்டாம் நூற்றாண்டினர் என்று பெருந்தேவனாரைக் கொள்ளுதலிற் குற்றமிராது.

இனி, இத்தொகை நூல்களுள் ஐந்நூறு பாடல்கள் கொண்ட ஐங்குறுநூறு நீங்கலாக, நற்றிணை, குறுந்தொகை, அகநானூறு, புறநானூறு என்பன நானூறு பாடல்கள் கொண்டவை. நற்றிணை நானூறு, குறுந்தொகை நானூறு, அகநானூறு, புறநானூறு என்னும் பெயர்களே இதனைவலியுறுத்துவனவாம். இந்நிலையில், இத்

தொகைநூல்களுள் புறநானூற்றில் கடவுள்வாழ்த்துஉட்பட நானூறு பாடல்களும், அகநானூற்றிலும் நற்றிணையிலும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக நானூறு பாடல்களும் குறுந் தொகையில் மட்டும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக நானூற் றொரு பாடல்களும் காண்கின்றன. இவ்வேறுபாட்டிற்குக் காரணம் ஆராய்தற்பாலது ஏனெனில், அப்பொழுதுதான் இவ்வாராய்ச்சியின் முடிவாகவே கடவுள் வாழ்த்தினைச் சேர்த்து இந்நூல்களைத் தொகுத்து நானூறு என்று கணக் கிட்டனரா, அன்றி நானூறு பாடல்களைத் தொகுத்த பிறகு கடவுள் வாழ்த்தைச் சேர்த்தனரா என்பது உறுதியாக்கப் பெறும். நானூறு பாடல்களைச் சேர்ததுத் தொகை முடித்த பிறகு, அத்தொகுத்தோர் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து ஒன்றையும் முதற்கண் இட்டனர் எனலே தகும். ஏனெனில், கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடாண்டிணையைச் சேர்ந்தது; அகத்திற்குப் புறம்பானது. இது அகநானூறு, குறுந்தொகை, நற்றிணை என்னும் நூல்களின் பொருள் தன்மைக்கு வேறானது. அன்றியும், ஐங்குறுநூற்றில் ஐந்நூறு செய்யுள்களுக்கு மேலாகக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருத்தல் காண்க. இங்ஙனம் நோக்குங்கால் அகநானூறு, நற்றிணை, ஐங்குறு நூறு என்பவை முறைப்படி தொகுக்கப்பட்டிருத்தல் புலனும். ஆனல், புறநானூற்றில் ஒரு செய்யுள் குறைகின்றது; அதாவது, கடவுள் வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக 399 செய் யுள்களே உள்ளன. குறுந்தொகையில் ஒரு செய்யுள் மிகு கின்றது: அதாவது, கடவுள வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக 401 செய் யுள்கள் உள்ளன. புறநானூற்றில் மட்டும் கடவுள் வாழத் தையும் சேர்த்தே நானூறு என்று கணக்கிட்டிருக்கக்கூடும்; ஏனெனில், கடவுள் வாழ்ததும் புறப்பொருளைச் சேர்ந்த பாடாண்டிணைப் பகுதியாதலின். புறநானூறு தொகுக்கப் பட்ட காலம் நாம் அறியோம். புறநானூறு தொகுக்கப் பட்டபின், அகநானூறு, நற்றிணை ஆகிய தொகைகளில் நானூறு அகச்செய்யுள்களை மட்டும் சேர்த்து, அதன் பிறகு கடவுள் வாழ்த்தைப் புறம்பே சேர்த்தமையால், அத்தொகை களில் 401 செய்யுள்கள் உண்மை பொருந்தும். ஆனல், குறுந்தொகையில் மட்டும் 402 செய்யுள்கள் காணப்படுகின் றன. அதிலும் தொகையில் 400ம் புறம்பே கடவுள் வாழ்த்

துச் செய்யுள் ஒன்றும், ஆக 401 பாடல்களே இருத்தல் வேண்டும். குறுந்தொகையில் மிகையாகக் கலந்துவிட்ட பாடல் எது என்பதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். குறுந்தொகைப் பிரதிகளின் இறுதியில், "இத்தொகை முடித்தான் பூரிக்கோ; இத்தொகை பாடிய கவிகள் 205; இத்தொகை 4 அடிச் சிற்றெல்லையாகவும், 8 அடிப் பேரெல்லையாகவும் தொகுக்கப் பட்டது," என்னும் விளக்கம் காணப்படுகின்றது. ஆயினும், குறுந்தொகை 307, 391-ஆம் செய்யுள்கள் ஒன்பது அடியை யுடையனவாகக் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவற்றுள் 391-ஆம் செய்யுள் சில பிரதியில் எட்டு அடியுடையதாகச் சில பாட பேதங்களுடன் காணப்படுகின்றது. ஆயினும், 307-ஆம் செய்யுள் ஒன்பது அடியுடையதாகவே எல்லாப்பிரதிகளிலும் காணப்படுகின்றது. ஆதலால், இச்செய்யுளைக் குறுந் தொகையைச் சேராதது என்று நீக்கிவிடின், இத்தொகையும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக 400 பாடல்களே கொண்ட தாக அமையும்.

மேற்கூறியவற்றினின்றும், யாமறிவன : 1. சங்க காலத்துப் புலவரான பெருந்தேவனார் என்பவர் உரையிடை யிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுளாகப் பாரதத்தை யாத்தனர். 2. அதிற்கண்ட சில கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்களைப் பிற்காலத்துச் சங்கச் செய்யுள் தொகை முடித்தார் சிலர் தமது தொகை நூல்களுக்கு முன் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து என்று போற்றிக்கொண்டனர். 3. இவர் சங்ககாலப் புலவராத லால், அகநானூற்றிலும் நற்றிணையிலும் பெருந்தேவனார் என்பவர் இயற்றியனவாகக் காணப்படும் சில பாடல்கள் இப்பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் இயற்றியவையே. 4. இப்புலவர் வேறு, பாரத வெண்பாப்பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் வேறு. 5. திருவள்ளுவமாலைச் செய்யுள் இவரியற்றிய தன்று. 6. இவரியற்றிய பாரதச் செய்யுள்கள் பிறசெய்யுள்கள் ஆகியவற்றிலும் இவரது கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடல்களே புகழ் மிக்கவையாதலின், இவரைக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப்பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் எனல் ஒருவாறு பொருந்தும்.

The Bibliography of Tamil Studies

The replies to the first circular indicate that considerable support and scholarly assistance is assured for this project.

Dr. J. Filliozat of the College de France has already sent complete bibliographical details and annotations for 112 titles in French. Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Prague has sent a list of 15 titles which are to be found in the Czech and Slovak languages Rev. Fr. Jacquemart of Bangalore, has sent a list of 24 titles on South Indian religious history etc , which he will annotate. Dr. K. K. Pillai has sent a list of over 200 books and Prof. M. Varadharajan a list of over a hundred books. Assurances of collaboration have been received from the following with whom we are now in correspondence:—

The Rt. Rev. Sabapathy Kulandran, Bishop in Jaffna, Araly, Vaddukoddai, Ceylon; Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Professor of Tamil, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, South India; Prof. T. Nadarajah, Professor of Law, University of Ceylon; Prof. V. I. Subramaniam, Head of the Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, Trivandrum; Mr. M.S.H. Thompson, Twickenham, England; Rev. Fr. V M. Gnanapragasam, Research Scholar in Tamil, Loyola College, Madras; Rev. J. C. Hindley, Serampore College, Serampore, Dist., Hooghly, West Bengal; Rev. S. J. Samartha, Librarian, The United Theological College, Bangalore-6; Dr. Arno Lehmann, Professor der Theol , Fakultät, Martin Luther Universität, Halle-Wittonberg, East Germany; Rev. Fr. C. Joachim Pillai Omi, Ecole Biblique, Jerusalem POB, 53, Jordan;

Dr. R. E. Asher, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Chicago, 5856 University Avenue, Chicago, 37, Illinois, U.S A; Mr. P.R. Sittampalam, RAS. (Ceylon) Colombo; Mr. G. A Gnanamuttu, 4 Chelsea Gardens, Colombo.

From observations made by correspondents, I should like to make the following suggestions:—

1. Those collaborating with us may first send *a list* of the books which they will undertake to annotate. The editorial section here will, upon receipt of the list of books, ensure there is no duplication of work by sending the correspondents a list of the works for which the Editors require full bibliographical details and annotations. The initial lists should reach the Chief-Editor, Research Projects, as early as possible.

   If the preliminary lists reach us in time, and provided there is no delay on the part of correspondents in sending annotated lists, the Mss. should be ready for the press by the end of 1962.

2. Books on Tamil Studies in other Indian languages, e g. in Malayalam, Telugu, Hindi, Bengali etc , are to be included in the bibliography. We shall be grateful to scholars who will volunteer to undertake or procure for us annotations of books in particular Indian languages.

3. Through an oversight the first circular did not explicitly mention *translations* of Tamil works, classical and non-classical, found in other languages. Such translations are to be included in the bibliography.

4. The suggestion has been made that the bibliography of books should be followed by a

bibliography of articles in periodicals. A bibliography of articles in periodicals is a very necessary piece of documentation, and we hope with the collaboration of other Universities, we can embark on such a project in 1963. Our collaborators may bear this future project in mind when collecting material for the present project.

I wish to thank very warmly all these who have responded to our invitation and those others who will be replying shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM
Editor.
Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Appendix

I

HISTORY AND TRAVEL

1. LIEUT. COLONEL MARK WILKES: *Historical Sketches of the South of India,* in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore; from the origin of the Hindoo Government of that state to the extinction of the Mohammedan dynasty in 1799. Vol. I. London, 1810.

Chap. V. System of landed property in Tamil Nad.

Chap. VI. Mahratta and Muslim invasion in Tamil Nad.

Chap. VII-XII Anglo-French conflict- S. A.

2. LIEUT. COLONEL MARK WILKES: *Historical Sketches of the South of India*; Vol. II, London, 1817. Sections on Penetration of Hyder Ali into Tamil Nad; Conflict with the English. Continuation of War under Tippu—S. A.

3. ABRAHAM ROGERIUS: *De Open-deure tot het Verborgen Heydendom, Uitgegeven door W. Caland.*

Werken uitgegenen door de Linschoten-Vereeniging. The Hague 1915, pp. XLIV-222. (Dutch; T*he Open door to Hidden Heathendom.)* A description of the religious beliefs and practices of the people of the Coromandel Coast by a Dutch Protestant Padre who was an evangelist in the Dutch factory of Paleacat

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These sample annotations are published to indicate the method which is being followed in the compilation of the *Bibliography* of Tamil Studies by the Dept. of Indian Studies, University of Malaya.

from 1632 to 1642. The work was first published in Leyden in 1651—S. A.

4. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR: *Origin and Spread of the Tamils*, The Adyar Library, Madras, 1947, pp. VI+110.

Considers briefly existing theories regarding the Origin of the Dravidians. Examines available evidence of early Dravidian Civilization and puts forward the view of South India as their original home from where they subsequently spread Westwards and Eastwards.—S. A.

5. W. H. MORELAND (Ed): *Relations of Golconda in the early seventeenth century*, pp. XLVII+101+maps, London, Hakluyt Society, 1931.

A collection of accounts by European traders of the lands along the Coromandel coast up to Madras. Description of commerce together with side-lights on social conditions and religious practices. Most useful appendix by the Editor of currency, weights and measure in usage at that time in the area.—S. A.

6. S ARUNACHALAM: *The History of the Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast*, Annamalai University Historical Series No. 8, Annamalainagar, 1952, pp. ZLI+206.

Attempts to trace continuous history of the pearl fishery in the southern coast from the earliest times to the 19th century. Interesting information on the technique of pearl fishing and trade in pearls, based on foreign sources of different times.—S. A.

7. ABBE CARRE: *The Travels of the Abbè Carre in India and the Near East, 1672 to 1674*. Translated by Lady Fawcett and Edited by Sir Charles Fawcett with the assistance of Sir Richard Burn, Vol. II, pp XXIV+317+675+maps and illustrations, London, The Hakluyt Society, 1947.

Record of the Journey of Abbe Carre from Bijapur to the port of St. Thome then in French hands and under siege by the King of Golconda. Account of the French fleet under Admiral de la Haye, its activities in Trincomalee and on the Coromandel Coast. Account of the capture of St. Thome and War with the King of Golconda. Information relating to the English, Dutch on Coromandel Coast, and Commercial Matters. Map of Madras and its environments, c 1673-4.—S.A.

8. SATHYANATHA AIYAR: *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, Edited with introduction and Notes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar; Madras University Historical Series II, O U P., 1924, pp. xii+403.

Well documented study from original sources of the history of Nayaks of Madura from the 15th century to the beginning of the 18th century. Rule of each Nayak dealt with in detail in a separate chapter with a concluding chapter on economic and social consideration of the entire period Appendices contain extracts of some contemporary sources—S A.

9. S P. SEN: *The French in India; first establishment and struggle*, University of Calcutta, 1947, pp. xii+360

Deals with the attempt of the French to establish themselves in Trincomalee in 1672 and their capture of San Thome; detailed account of War on the Coromandel Coast over possession of San Thome 1672-1674, Foundation of French settlement of Pondicherry.-S.A.

10. HENRY DAVIDSON LOVE: *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800. Indian Records Series*, 3 Volumes, London, 1913. Details and connected account of the foundation and growth of the English factory and city of Madras, narrated with copious extracts from original

documents. Many illustrations and maps, giving useful information of Madras in its various stages of development.-S. A.

11. FERNAO DE QUEYROZ: *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, Translated by S. G. Perera, Colombo, 1830, 3 Vols.

Detailed description of Ceylon and account of Portuguese rule there, written by a Portuguese Jesuit Priest in the year 1680. Sections on the Tamil inhabitants, the relations of the Tamil Kingdom of Jaffnapatnam with the Portuguese and its conquest by the latter. Valuable light on spread of Catholicism among the Tamils of Ceylon.-S. A.

12. V. KANAKASABHAI: *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago;* Second Edition, Madras, 1956, pp. MXII + 264.

Political economic and social history of the Tamil Kingdom of the first century A. D , written in 1904 and therefore views somewhat outdated.-S.A.

II

ARCHAEOLOGY

1. CASAL, *J.* M., *Fouilles de Virampatnam Arikamedu*, Rapport de l'Inde et de l occident aux environs de l'ére chrétienne, en collaboration avec Geneviéve Casal, Publication de la Commission des Fouilles archéologiques, Fouilles de l'Inde, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1949, 4 pp. 71, pl. 24.

French : Excavations at Arikamedu, near Pondichery revealing Roman Remains

2. FAUCHEX, L., *Une vieille cite indienne près de Pondichèry:* Virampatnam, Pondichéry, Impremerie de la Mission, 1946, 8° pp. 19.

(French: An old Indian city in the neighbourhood of Pondichery. Observations on the site later called "Arikamedu.")-J. F.

3. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, G., *Archèologie du Sud l'Inde*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes, tomes 26-27, Paris, Geuthner, 1914, 8° I. *Architecture*, pp. 192, pl. 74. fig. 71, II. *Iconographie*, pp. 152, pl. 44, fig. 40.

(French: Archaeology of Southern India, I. Architecture, II. Iconography) Archaeology of Tamilnad. Volume 2, translated into English by A. C. Martin, Iconography of Southern India, Paris, Geuthner, 1937, 8° pp. 139, pl. 78, fig. 40.-J.F.

4. PATTABIRAMIN, P. Z.; *Trouvailles de Nedoungâdou, Tandavas de Siva*, Préface par K. A. Nilakanta, Pondichéry, Imprimerie de Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1950, 8° pp. XXII+88, pl. 46.

(French: Findings at Nedungâdu. Siva's Tandavas)

- - 2éme édition, Pondichèry, 1956, 8° pp. XXII + 88, pl. 46. -J.F.

5. PATTABIRAMIN, P.Z., *Les fouilles d'Arikamedou* (Podouké) Présentation par C.F. Baron, Préface by K. A.Nilakanta Sastri, Pondichéry, Imprimerie de Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1946, 8° pp. XVI+60, pl. 31, tabl. 2.

(French: The excavations at Arikamedu (Podouké) Excavations from 1941 to 1945. J. F.

6. PATTABIRAMIN, P. Z., *Temple de Madagadipattou* (985-1014 A. D.), Pondichéry, Imprimerie de Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1951, 8° pp. XX+139, pl. 26, fig. 12.

(French: Temple at Madagadipattou, 985-1014 A. D.)-J. F.

7. PATTABIRAMIN, P.Z., Quatre vieux temples des Environs de Pondichéry, Extrait de la Revue Historique de l'Inde francaise VII, Pondichéry, Imprimerie de Sri Aurobindo Ashram; 1948 8° pp. 60,. pl. 42.

(French: Four old temples in the neighbourhood of Pondichery).-J. F.

III

ART AND SCULPTURE

1. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY, A. K., *The Dance of Shiva*, Asia Publishing House, pp. 196, Bombay, 1956. Illustrated.

The Nataràja iconography explained from Tamil texts in an essay of the same title—X.S.T.

2. ARAVAMUTHAN, T. G., *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, The India Society, pp. XVI+100; 3 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, 1931, Plates and Illustrations, 33.

A pioneer catalogue study of the Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagar periods; includes Tamil literary evidence.—X.S.T.

3 PERCY BROWN: *Indian Architecture*, 2 Vols. with drawings, photographs, maps Taraporavala, Bombay, 1942.

Vol. I : Buddhist and Hindu, pp. XIV+262, 163 plates.
Vol. II : The Islamic Peiiod, pp. XIV.+146, 100 plates.

For a long time a definitive work, deals adequately also with all periods of South India X.S.T.

4. LOUIS FREDERIC: *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, Thames and Hudson, pp. 464, London, 1959. Maps, Plans and Drawings 24, Reproductions: 24. Translated from the French by Eva M. Hoeykaas and A. H. Christie, French edition, 1959. Arts et Metiers Graphiques, Paris.

Short general introductions on religious architecture with brief notes explaining the plates; provides "essential documentation for the art historian" and utilises Tamil literature and history to explain the art developments in the South and their importance in the art history of India - X.S.T.

5. HEINRICH ZIMMER: *The Art of Indian Asia*, Its mythology and transformations, Two volumes, New York, Pantheon Books, 1955. Vol. I, Text, pp, XIII+465; Vol, II, Plates, pp. XVIII+614.

Magnificent volumes giving both in text and plates due prominence to Pre-Aryan and South Indian elements in architecture, sculpture, bronze-casting and ideals of beauty. Interprets the basis of Indian mythology and its influence in art in S. E. Asia. Separates the Dravidian artistic traditions from the Aryan, and establishes the delicacy and refinement of Pallava art and its chamber music-like qualities-X S. T.

TAMIL EDUCATION BOARD

தமிழ்க் கல்விக் குழு

At an assembly of prominent members of the Tamil Community, representative of most of the Tamil Cultural associations, convened by the Tamil poet and teacher, Mr. Soopaya Moodaliar, the Tamil Education Board was constituted under the chairmanship of the Honourable Vele Govindan, M.B.E., M.L.C., on Sun-

day the 4th February 1962, at Port Louis, Mauritius, with a view to taking advantage of the advice and help of the Tamizhaha Pulavar Kuzhu of Trichy for the dissemination and fostering of Tamil Literature and Culture in the country.

A message of good wishes from Dr. M. Varadharajan addressed to the Tamils of Mauritius was read amidst great applause.

It was hoped that other Tamil organisations from Madras will extend their help to the Tamil Education Board of Mauritius in the great task that is confronting them for the propagation of Tamil.

The Tamizhaha Pulavar Kuzhu has already promised to donate Tamil books and to send two lecturers to the Tamil Education Board whose address is: Tamil Education Board, C/o Young Men's Hindu Association, 36, Remy Cellier Street, Port Louis. Mauritius.

—From our Mauritius correspondent

A Description of the Tamils of Ceylon

JAMES SELKIRK

The Rev. James Selkirk wrote his book "Recollections of Ceylon" after nearly thirteen years residence in the island. The following extracts are taken from pp. 66-69 of his book. (J. Hatchard and Son, 187 Piccadilly, London, 1844.)

CASTES

"The TAMULIANS inhabit all the eastern coast, from Battakalo northward to Jaffna, and from Jaffna southward along the western coast to Putlam. The general opinion respecting them is, that they at first came over into the island from the opposite coast of India. They are a more enterprising, active, and industrious people than the Singhalese, and are possessed of equal selfishness. They are divided into four principal tribes.

"The first is called Pirama. The people of this tribe, besides being alone permitted to officiate as priests, are chiefly engaged in agriculture or commerce. They are religiously divided into three following sects.

1. The worshippers of fire.
2. The worshippers of Siva.
3. The worshippers of Vishnu.

"Those of the second tribe are called Katriyas, and constitute the royal race of warriors. This tribe, however, though recognised in their classification, exists not in Ceylon.

"Those of the third tribe are called Vaisyas, and constitute the nobility. They are divided into (1) Merchants, commonly called Chetties, the most honourable and industrious, and enterprising race of men on the island. (2) Husbandmen. (3) Herdsmen.

"Those of the fourth tribe are called Sutras, and on them devolve all the lower offices of life. They are likewise bound to serve the three preceding classes of Vaisyas during the public ceremonies, and are incapable of raising themselves to any superior rank. They are divided into two classes, the one including all kinds of domestic servants, and the other all kinds of town or public servants. The domestic servants are eighteen in number.

1. Barbers
2. Heralds, who announce weddings and deaths.
3. Blacksmiths
4. Goldsmiths
5. Brass founders
6. Carpenters
7. Masons
8. Game keepers
9. Tailors
10. Oil-makers
11. Betel sellers
12. Lime burners
13. Watchmen
14. Flower sellers
15. Burners of dead bodies
16. Potters
17. Chank blowers
18. Washermen

"The town or public servants are forty-five in number:—

1. Woollen drapers
2-9. Fishers and boatmen
10. Huntsmen
11. Painters
12. Basket-makers
13. Wood men
14. Sifters
15. Scabbard-makers
16. Doctors
17. Stage-players
18. Rope-dancers
19. Snake-dancers

20. Lyrists
21. Grooms
22, 23. Elephant-keepers
24-26. Employed in making toddy and sugar
27. Arrack-makers
28. Dyers
29, 30. Pond-diggers
31. Salt-makers
32-36. Weavers
37. Slaves to the higher orders
38. Makers of dry measures
39. Mat-makers
40. Palankeen-bearers
41. Soothsayers
42, 43. Shoe and sandal-makers
44. Tomtom-beaters, pariors
45. Ploughmen of the lower orders.

DRESS AND CUSTOMS

"The Tamulians in general are a stouter and more active race of men than the Singhalese. They are less cringing in their manner, more independent and adventurous, and more faithful servants and subjects of government. Many of the Chetties are employed by merchants and others in various parts of the island as Konnikkopolies, that is, collectors of their bills, at a certain percentage; and in this way a great deal of money from time to time passes through their hands, and they are very seldom found dishonest. The native merchants are almost all of this class. They deal largely in cloths, rice, &c. The dress of the men is a long piece of white muslin or calico tied round their bodies neatly and gracefully, and reaching down to the ankles, and a jacket somewhat like the one worn by the Singhalese. They wear turbans, and have large bunches of earrings, in each ear four or five rings, the smallest about two inches and the largest about three inches in diameter. These sometimes reach as low as their shoulders, and make the aperture in the ear very large. They generally have a long muslin scarf thrown

over one shoulder, and reaching to the ground behind and before. The poorer classes have fewer earrings, and those of smaller dimensions and a great many have none at all. They also go without any covering on the upper part of their bodies. Their hair, too, is carelessly fastened up; sometimes the cundy is made on the top of the head, or on one side above the ear; and several have their heads shaven, except a lock at the crown.

"The dress of the women consists of a single piece of white cloth wound round the waist, and brought up across the breasts and over the shoulder, and tucked into the comboy. Their heads are without any covering; their hair is turned up and fastened in a cundy. It is quite astonishing to see the quantities of jewels worn by some of the women. Besides a necklace, often very valuable, they have rings in the top as well as in the lower part of their ears, gold ornaments in one of their nostrils, bracelets, and rings on their ankles, fingers, and toes (for they are shoeless). Like the children of the Singhalese, those of the Tamulians go naked till they are five or six years of age, having nothing more than a silver chain, sometimes with a small bell hanging to it in front, or a small piece of cord tied round their loins."

News and Notes

LECTURES

Mr. William Willetts, M.A., (Lond.) B.A., (Oxon.), B.Sc., (Bristol), delivered two public lectures on 'THE CORAMANDAL COAST' under the auspices of the Academy of Tamil Culture on the 4th and 22nd of December 1961, at the University Buildings, Madras,

Rao Sahib N. Murugesa Mudaliar, B.A., Retired Deputy Secretary to Government, Madras, delivered a public lecture on 'TODA GOD-NAMES' on the 31st January 1962, at 5-30 p.m., at the University Buildings.

RECEPTION TO STAFF AND STUDENT DELEGATES FROM MALAYA

A reception was accorded on the 21st of February 1962, in the New Woodlands, Madras, to the staff and students of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, who were touring India under the auspices of the Tamil Language Society of the University of Malaya.

The following members represented the delegation :

Amar Singh, Balabaskharan, Chakravarthy, Eddy Wee, Indra Pillai (Miss.), Killingley D. H. (Lecturer), Lal Kumar, Mohammed Kamaruddin (Leader), Mohamed Yahya Bin Yan, Navamani, S. (Miss.), Nor Aziah (Miss), Raghavan, E. Nair (Co-Leader), Raghbir Kaur (Miss), Rajendra (Co-Leader), Ravindranathan, K., Dr. Jha (Lecturer), Richard Job, Uma Devi Murugesu, E.Sa. Viswanathan (Lecturer).

After tea, a meeting was held under the presidentship of Prof. M. Varadharajanar. The President

explained to the members the aims and objectives of the Academy and expressed his hope that such delegations would help in establishing friendship between countries. The President wished them success in their tour programme in India.

Dr. K. K. Pillay, Professor of History, University of Madras, gave a talk on the Historical and Cultural contacts between Malaya and India.

Mr. Mohamed Kamaruddin, Leader of the party, introduced the members of the delegation earlier and expressed his thanks on behalf of the delegation to the Academy of Tamil Culture for the reception accorded to them.

Later there were very many questions and answers exchanged freely among the members present.

The Secretary proposed a vote of thanks.

STUDY OF TAMIL IN NORTH INDIA

Sir,

As a Bengali, I was very much amazed to see the catholic spirit of the Tamilians in honouring the great Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore, during the past two months. I attended at different places of the city the plays of Tagore staged in Tamil, Bengali and Sanskrit all ably handled by Tamilians and I was overwhelmed beyond words to observe their true devotion and enthusiasm.

As a resident of this part of our sub-continent for the past decade or so, I can assert with confidence that Tamil Nad stands foremost in exhibiting the best form of the emotional integration of our nation.

Gandhiji, Nethaji, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekananda, Tagore and others of North India are household words in this State. What else is needed to create happy national cohesion?

I therefore feel that it is only in the North there is much to be done in this direction. For that purpose I wish to make the following suggestions: Three languages, viz., English, Hindi and Tamil should be declared as the official languages of the Indian Union. The tri-lingual formula is already in force in almost all the States and it will be only proper if the same is extended to the Centre also.

Because Hindi is spoken by a vast majority of people in the North, it alone cannot be the official language of the Union. In the USSR, since no other language has developed, Russian is the only official language. But in Switzerland there are three official languages, because all of them are developed. The people call themselves "Swiss" proudly and are honoured everywhere in the world. That small nation should be the best model for us to emulate as far as the language problem is concerned.

Moreover, Hindi is a language of comparatively recent origin, possessing a weak grammar, whereas Tamil is the most ancient of all the spoken languages of India. Tamil possesses a higly developed literature and a finely systematised grammar. Classical Tamil works like "Pura Nanuru", "Kural", etc., are fit to be studied widely as national works.

I understand that Tamil is being studied with interest in foreign countries like Russia and America. But it is a pity that the people of North India are still

ignorant of this great language of our country, even after 14 years of independence.

Madras. B. K. Sen.

—Extract from a Letter to 'The Hindu', 20—12—1961.

THE LATE PROF. (MRS) AUDILAKSHMI ANJANEYULU

The death occured in Leningrad of Mrs. Audilakshmi Anajaneyulu, Professor of Tamil and Telugu at the Leningrad State University, recently (July 30th) at the age of 33. She was the wife of Mr. D. Anjaneyulu, Editor in charge of 'VANI', All India Radio, Madras.

After taking the M.A. Degree in Telugu language and literature from Presidency College, she was awarded the Government of India scholarship in the Humanities for research work in the Madras University. She was engaged for some years in a comparative study of Tamil and Telugu literatures under the guidance of the late Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai. For her thesis on "*Saivism in Telugu*" she was awarded the M. Litt. Degree in 1957, by the University of Madras.

Early in 1958 she was chosen by the Government of India for the assignment in the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad University. She was an accomplished linguist who knew Russian, Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali, besides her native Telugu and Tamil. She was the author of a volume of verses entitled 'Panchamrutham' celebrating the lives of some heroines of Indian history. She was a contributor to "Tamil Culture".

PLEA FOR BETTER TAMIL RESEARCH

Madras, March 12. Speaking at a meeting held under the auspices of the Tamil Writers' Association in Triplicane this evening, the Rev. Xavier S. Thaninayagam, Professor of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, said the Malayan University was at present engaged in compiling a bibliography of books on Tamil language, culture, literature etc., in languages other than Tamil. According to him, there were nearly 2,000 books of such a nature. The speaker brought out the various similarities between the Tamilians and people in some of the South-East Asian countries like Cambodia, Viet Nam and Thailand in their social habits, language, ways of life, etc. He said there was scope for research in this direction and it was necessary for one going in for research to have a knowledge of languages like Sanskrit and French.

The speaker regretted that not much had been done in the field of research as far as Tamil was concerned, and said that more and more scholars and authors of our country should come forward to spread the Tamil culture and make known the greatness of Tamil literature. He stressed that Tamil writers should study the literature in other languages. Only then, he added, there would be better scope for the Tamil language to develop. Making a reference to books in Tamil on general subjects, Rev. Thaninayagam said that while there were books suitable for children in the age groups 6-12, books on subjects suited for boys of high school going age were lacking.

Mr. Anbu Ganapathi, President of the Association, presided over the meeting. Mr. P. Balasubramaniam, Secretary, proposed a vote of thanks.

—The 'Hindu', 14-3-62.

TAMIL STUDIES IN CHICAGO

Madras Professor to Inaugurate Course

Annamalainagar, Mar. 21: Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, Head of the Department of Tamil, Annamalai University, is leaving for the U.S.A. today.

He has been appointed visiting professor at the University of Chicago, where he will inaugurate a course in Tamil studies.

During his three months stay in the U.S.A. he will also visit other American universities and deliver a series of lectures on Tamil language and literature.

—The 'Mail', 22-3-62

CHICAGO VARSITY TAMIL DEPT.

Meenakshisundaram to Inaugurate

Madras. March 22: Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Professor of Linguistics and Tamil at the Annamalai University, who has been invited by the Chicago University to inaugurate their Department's Tamil studies, left this afternoon for Delhi, *en route* to the U. S.

Prof. Meenakshisundaram will be the visiting Professor of Tamil literature and Language at the Chicago University between March 26 and June 9, 1962, during which he will deliver a series of ten lectures on the history of Tamil literature and another ten lectures on the history of the Tamil language.

—The 'Hindu', 23-3-62.

BHARATI'S POEMS

Russia Interested in Translation

Madras, Mar. 21: Madame Nina Popova, President of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Society for cultural relations with foreign countries and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said yesterday that the friendship between India and the Soviet Union notonly helped the people of these two countries but also helped the whole humanity in preserving and consolidating peace all over the world.

Madame Nina, leader of the three-member delegation to Madras to participate in the 10th anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, was given a reception.

She stated that some of the poems of Subramania Bharati were translated recently into Russian language for publication. Some of the Indologists were also carrying on research work on *Kural.*

—The 'Mail', 21-3-1962

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Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam is Professor of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

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Rev. Fr. Francis Morais, S. J. is at Beschi College, Dindigul . . . .

Mr. S. J. Gunasegaram is Retired Education Officer, Kopay, Ceylon.

Mr. M. Palani is Lecturer in Tamil, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Hugh Neville was a member of the Ceylon Civil service (1869 - 1886) and a Fellow of the Zoological Society of London.

The Novelist of the City of Madras

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The Tamil novel in the forties and fifties of this century was striving to come into its own and striving to shake off influences of English or other European models. The movement for independence, and the independent thinking brought to bear on the social evils, not always justly or equitably attributed to foreign rule, and social reforms badly needed in the country, gave origin also to the independent Tamil novel, the novel seeking to portray the experience of life such as an independent novelist saw it in the Tamil country. But at this stage the plot and tenor of the novel were conditioned by two circumstances. The novel was often serialised in the new weeklies or monthlies which were being published from Madras, and were then developing a wide circulation. In a limited purchasing economy, it helped the book trade and the circulation of the periodical to publish a novel in serial form before finally issuing it as a book. The writer of the serialised novel had to work out his plot in such a manner that the end of one week's published material would leave his readers in suspense and excitement and guessing the nature of the coming instalment. The desire to give unexpected thrills dominated the plot of the novel. The forties and fifties was also the period of development of the Tamil film, and the novelist kept in view also the possibility of his story providing for a vivacious scenario. Hence novelists either consciously or unconsciously worked

out plots which would turn out to be good film material, language and dialogue which would sound suitable on the screen.

Professor Varadharasan who combines a Chair of Tamil with creative writing is the novelist for the novel's sake whose writing is not determined by serialised publication or by the prospective scenario. Professor Varadharasan is wrapped in his own philosophy of life, in his own sympathy for suffering and in his own reflective thinking. He does not appear to write primarily for money or for popularity; his books are the honest reflection of his vision and philosophy of life, and the result of his concept of the novel as a literary genre and a work of art.

MADRAS SCENES

Varadharasan is eminently the novelist of the city, and of one city, and that city is the city of Madras. He might bring in the Tamil quarter in Matunga, Bombay, the Rashbihari avenue in Calcutta, Karolbagh in Delhi, or Haridhwar by the Ganges, but even when he does so, these places are connected with Madras. Even when his characters live in other parts of India, the novelist betrays his nostalgia for Madras. The Tamil village and the township also engage his attention, but he is happier and more successful with Madras city. He describes the familiar landmarks of Madras ; his episodes are located on the beach, the Marina, Parry's corner, Egmore, in the slum areas which he sees in all their misery. One who has walked a few of the streets of Madras, Mount Road not excepted, will realise what he means when he says,

> "If you walk in Madras from Pachayappa's buildings to Parry's corner you will have understood a great deal of life........ Between Pachayappa's buildings and

> Parry's corner there is a whole wide world. Whenever I have walked that distance I have come to realise whole new truths."[1]

He utilises to the full the privacy possible in a large city where his characters from the village may move about without the interference and knowledge of goodwilled but gossipy and prying neighbours.

> "If anything should happen in the future, live in the city. They will not despise you. They will permit anything at all."[2]

His scenes are laid in quarters of the city where the pressure of population is greatest, where crowds surge towards the evening, and not in the leisurely mansions and park-like gardens of Adyar and Nungambakkum. Varadharasan loves the crowded areas of Madras, the busy crowds along Broadway and China Bazaar, the strolling crowds of Triplicane, San Thome and the Marina,—the competitive and querulous crowds of Egmore and suburban railway stations, and the milling crowds such as Madras witnessed on the illuminated eve of Indian Independence.

He enters into the spirit of the avocations in Madras, the evening stroll on the Marina, the music recitals and solo dances and the literary, political and religious meetings in a city which has cultivated platform oratory as a fine art, and where listening to public speeches is more of a pastime than sports, picnics or week-ends. His minor characters, like the people in Madras, frequent literary and political gatherings and his important characters expound literary and economic themes to audiences avid like the Athenians for something new.

1. Karittuṇḍu. 2. Malar viḻi.

Varadharasan's novels have several elements of autobiographical interest, and his knowledge of Madras as in the novels is the ripe knowledge of a man in his forties, familiar with the city as a student, lecturer, professor and scholar, and familiar with all levels of society except perhaps the smart set and the westernised or sophisticated society of the Cosmopolitan and the Gymkhana Clubs, and the Connemara and Oceanic hotels. His knowledge of the middle class is most intimate and he reproduces very accurately their conversations with their banter and sense of humour. The Tamil novelists of the mid-century are aware of the changing pattern of life in a growing, developing, Madras with its post-war urbanisation and conurbation problems. They are also aware of the increase of hotels and rented rooms for a shifting population, and hence introduce them increasingly as locations for certain episodes in their novels. They are aware of the new modes of life which the newfound freedom for woman has brought about, her equality with men in offices, her independent life possible in hostels and rented lodgings, and her aversion to arranged marriages. Varadharasan utilises this changing pattern of the social role of woman, and declares she will be equal to man and enjoy a true freedom, and marry on equal terms once she can be economically independent. The teaching profession is the one which she may adopt with dignity and safety.

SOCIAL REFORM

The Tamil novelist of the mid-century is pre-eminently concerned with the fields of social reform. These reforms were to form the fruits of independence won during the post-war period. The gruelling poverty which he saw in the streets, the semi-starva-

tion which haunted a large section of the population, the disproportion which existed between the long hours of hard labour and the pittance received in return, the easy and gracious life of the wealthy, their homes, their automobiles, their servants and their morals, compared with the pavement life of the poor or their hen coop-huts, come in for subjects of argument and discussion in the novels. Communist propaganda material, the Tamil translations of the novels of Victor Hugo and Tolstoy and contemporary movements for social legislation also opened the eyes of novelists to the misery they saw in the streets of the cities of Tamil Nad as well as in its villages, and they portrayed characters who could argue for and against the movements for a fairer distribution of wealth. Bharati was concerned with the sufferings of the Tamil labourer in Fiji, Burma, and Ceylon, but in the mid-century the Tamil novelist has become sensitive to the poverty and filth and hunger in his immediate neighbourhood.

Varadharasan is equally heir to this burden of deliverance and the delineation of an Utopia which might well come into being if the *Tirukkural* became the text-book of politicians and there were a fairer redistribution of wealth. But Varadharasan brings to bear, in addition, an agonising sympathy with those who suffer poverty or injustice and moral degradation. He proposes State housing schemes for the poor and co-operatives to market their produce. His characters debate the chasm which exists between the Indian "they" and "us". With considerable skill, perhaps influenced by a study of Bernard Shaw, Varadharasan brings into the argument characters who would like to accept cynically the evils of a world which cannot be reformed as well as idealist characters who crusade for a cause, and are prepared to suffer and give up their

lives for a cause. The discussion is always well balanced, offering argument and counter argument, often seeming to demolish the author's own views which he has built up with considerable care.

Social reforms and a better distribution of wealth are hindered not only by a lack of social consciousness and of state legislation but also by an unscrupulous wealthy class which enters politics and causes the abuse and miscarriage of justice. Varadharasan brings in elections and electioneering campaigns and the attendant perquisities, bribes and mal-practices into ridicule. He portrays with trenchant irony the philistinism of the candidates, the hangers-on, the sycophants, the ghost writers of political speeches and the swift turncoating from party and even the misuse of religion for political ends. The police come in for some rough but justifiable handling comparable a little to their own handling of the helpless. The guardians of law when it comes to dealing with the poor and the uneducated, assume the role of Titans and rule by threats and illiterate bravado, an accurate verdict on the uneducated, awkward-marching, blustering, bribe-taking, brawny not brainy, evidence-concocting rank and file of the police of Madras. The difference of treatment meted out by the police to the rich is always noted and even the corruption to which the judiciary may be subject, is not excluded from his censure.

The official class lives by the fawning simper of thriving adulation of their superiors. Ānavar in *Kayamai*, taking his lime-fruits and betel and sacred ash to the Collector, and his garlands on birthdays to the people whose favours he required, his diary lined up with a list of birthdays, is the type of the corrupt Head Clerk in Office, who abuses his official powers

for his own ends. The corruption in Government departments, the jobbery, the wives who accept bribes for their husbands, and the respect and attention measured out in proportion to a person's wealth and dress and general physical appearance, so much in evidence in Government offices, is invariably noted by Varadharasan.

DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTER

The life in Madras with its populated streets, its 'coffee clubs', its variegated and colourful population, its festivals and its periodic floods are background of his novels. The buses and that noisy electric train tearing through the city from the Beach to Tambaram, the beat of the surf on the Marina, are sounds in which his ear delights. He indulges rarely in minute descriptions of rooms, places, of houses, of furniture, of nature, or even of physical beauty. Even the Taj Mahal evokes but a parsimonious description. He seems most absorbed with human types, their problems and their discussions and the ideas he would like to propagate. Hence his characters are marked by keen intellectualism and dialectics. They are the creations of a very reflective and interrogative thinker and sometimes seem like the surfaces of Egyptian sculpture. They would change to a three dimensional impression if they were charged with greater impression of flesh and blood and a greater emotional life. As they are, they seem to be sometimes differrent voices of human types introduced for the purpose of conveying the author's mental processes on topical problems.

The novelist of the city of Madras, one may say, is above all, a novelist with a purpose. He portrays life, and portrays it with a discernment and a reflection which make him one of the most lucid thinkers

among the Tamil novelists of today. But his thinking is didactic and pedagogic. The novel is to him both a work of art as well as his main platform. The teacher in Varadharasan is even more evident than the novelist, since his characters and situations are didactic and pedagogic. Varadharasan is the objective research worker, thinker and scholar who has turned novelist, in contrast with writers of fiction in Tamil Nad who have turned research workers.

DIDACTISM IN THE NOVEL

In several situations and in passing observations, he tries to inculcate some little moral, some point of good manners, or even some recommended method of study which will shape the lives of his readers. Just as his characters are types of people to be met with in Tamil urban society, his situations are also 'typical' situations and these situations are worked in to teach a moral. His novels have generally two types to further the argument, one a hard-boiled pragmatist who presents the case for the *status quo*, and is cynical about ever being able to changing society or human nature, another type is the idealist who crusades for changing the evils rampant in society with all the fervour of an impractical idealism. The novelist himself seems to be on the side of the idealist but modifies his extreme idealism with experience and common sense.

Venkatesan, in *Kayamai* probably gives the novelist's prescription for the evolution of a better world.

> " Does the world repudiate the bully and the bad man ? No. It gives him influence and prestige ! What does that show but that the world is not yet fully cultured ? Therefore in an uncultured world what should the cultured do ? One way is to take poison, to be allowed to be crucified, or to be shot by a pistol. Another way is to repu-

diate the world as fearful, and hasten to a forest to live as a blind hermit. There is a third way, *and that is to desire with sincere enthusiasm the reform of the world and to sow the seeds of reform while performing unobtrusively one's own duties.*"

The topics which the characters discuss are social problems with which the novelist is familiar. He might discuss Science as opposed to Nature, or the psychology of the artist, or the value of playing dice, but the discussion invariably tends towards the practical consideration of these questions in the Tamil Nad situation, particularly in the city of Madras. The discussions range over wide fields such as Capitalism, Socialism, Marxism, Gandhism, educational methods and education in the mother tongue, the education of women, arranged marriages, bribery and corruption, omens and superstitions, housing in the city, the beggar problem, personal and social hygiene, unemployment, organised religion and the abuses in temple worship, the evolution of a happier society and the temporary triumph of evil. Even remarks about the temple priests pelting the image with flowers and reciting the *mantras* "with the speed of the mail train" are meant to bring about reform, and are not derisive.

No serious thinker in the face of the colossal social problems of India with its high birth rate and the corresponding slowness with which reforms are effected, particularly when this slowness is due to inefficiency, corruption, jobbery and party politics, can help being cynical as a social satirist. Some of Varadharasan's characters are highly cynical of the existing structure of society and the leadership available to change the structure to a better one. The cynicism leads to caricatures of the politician who should be responsible for social reform.

A candidate for Elections in Madras City, if he wishes to win popularity in order to defeat his rival, is advised to attend regularly so as to be seen by the constituency, worship at the temples, to pay for service and the installation or tube electric lights in temples, to quote extensively from Bakthi poetry, and pretend to be a patron of poetry, music and dance.

> " With charity and piety there should be a third requisite for one who courts popularity, and that is the Fine Arts". " How shall I learn them? Charity is possible if I have money. Piety can be acted or put on. But the Arts?" " Not all those who wear the sacred ash and frequent temples are devotees. Several go to the temple for a good name. Such too is art. What does it matter if you know not the rudiments of music? Purchase a ticket for the first row and just sit tight. What matters it if you know nothing about the dance? Go to a performance and watch her physique: That's what most people do!"

And in another place the candidate is instructed by the two rascally associates as to what he should do when he appears in public.

> " Speak of great ideals in public and emphasise above all good conduct and morality. Say that alcohol is the root of all evils, and that bribery should disappear altogether from the land. Say that this land is a divine land, and here were born the great Mahatmas of all time. Insist that we should tread the path of our ancestors. If you will memorise any two verses from the *Tirukkuṟal* that should be enough. Insert here and there in the speech the names of Buddha, Swami Ramalingam, Gandhi. Say that one should not be selfish, that one should not be attached to money, and that one should learn to love a life of service. This brief introduction, and then sit down. The speakers after you will commence to praise you and your speech. Āṉavar and I and a few others will start applauding every time the speakers refer to you and the audience will follow. That will be sufficient advertisement."

Aṉavar, (*Kayamai*) the villain of the piece, gives a public lecture under the chairmanship of the candidate for elections on the subjectof "The Greatness of Good Conduct." The inconsistencies between public pronouncements and private conduct are always contrasted like "those that praise basic education from the platform but send their children to convent schools and western methods." *Man kudisai* contains a strong indictment of Indian divergence between precept and practice, and says that Westerners are much better in this regard, since they do not praise in public what they do not practise in private. The more progressive West is a repeated phrase in discussions.

The problem of Evil and the success of evil-doors in the world is a recurrent theme. The argument goes back and forth and in the end is not solved since evil seems to preponderate and succeed. But the blame is not with evil but with those who tolerate it and give room for its success because of their indifference, their inactivity and their lack of courage. Nallayan, the idealist youth, argues:

> "Let Goodness spread, and let Evil disappear, we sing and we proclaim. We see however, Goodness disappear and Evil spread, and we are the cause. We permit evil doers to band together and to gain in strength. We give place to those who act as if they were goodness itself. But to those who are really good, we give them no quarter............"

To which the pragmatist Venkatesan replies :–

> "Goodness is not going to increase or decrease more than what obtains today in the world. Since the beginning of time Good and Evil have appeared together in the same measure. It is useless to be concerned about it.

God protects both Good and Evil. To speak the truth, it looks as if Good is the dutiful child of God and Evil the pet child of God!"

Again: " You cannot change or reform the world, even if in each village you had living a Gandhi, a Buddha and aTiruvaḷḷuvar. It's only if you abolish poverty that Gandhism, *Tirukkural* and the law of love can develop."

THE NOVELIST AND THE RENAISSANCE

Varadharasan the Novelist is as much a product and promoter of the mid-century Tamil movement in prose, as Bharati and the other poets were earlier the promoters of the Tamil Renaissance. His characters discuss and quote literature, especially, the *Silappati-kāram* and the *Tirukkural*, as it is actually done in ordinary conversation among the student, teacher and office population in Tamil society, and his lovers re-live the love of the Cankam Age in a twentieth century atmosphere. The characters of the *Epic of theAnklet* are proto types of marital fidelity or devotion to Art and are in constant demand by the novelist to set an example for lofty behaviour or in justification or explanation of moral deviation. The poems of the Cangam classics and the devotional poems often come in as quotations, but above all, the *Tirukkural* is the one book by which Varadharasan and his characters, swear. Not only is it the ready reference and guide, but whole lives are fashioned or changed by its study and the observance of its maxims. Individual heroes and heroines carry a copy about with them and read it at their office desks: North Indian residents in Madras learn it along with their Tamil and cite it

in Northern India; families make it a daily observance to read or study a chapter of ten verses; and the life of the Bengalee Nirmala, a Calcutta socialite in *Karittundu* changes from one of dissipation and frivolity to a highly serious minded devotion to service and rectitude because of the study of the maxims of Tiruvaḷḷuvar commenced in her twenties or thirties. A professor of Psychology expounds it in Bombay in English for non-Tamil audiences, and the novelist finds all his idealism in this ancient and truly incomparable ethical and humanist codex.

It is evident that the Tamil classical age furnishes a deep background in thought and expression for Varadharasan's novels. *Kayamai* has been inspired by the ten verses of Tiruvaḷḷuvar on Villainy. There is no parallel word in English for kayamai. It includes meanness, villainy, wickedness, and a Iago-like character. The problem of the artist's temperament seems to have an origin in the temperamental nature of Kovalan and Matavi in the Epic *Sillapatikāram*, and the language of the novelist's lovers in the love poetry of the classics. Even casual statements in the novels recall familiar lines of classical poetry. For instance, he says of the effects of poverty "What does not enter the abject huts of the poor? Art, chastity, charity, murder, adultery, cruelty all these are to be found there."

COMPARE WITH MANIMĒKALAI

"Poverty will destroy nobility corresponding to birth; it can kill greatness; it can make the learned forsake the fruits of learning, it can destroy shame and respect; it can lead to lechery." While he looks on the Ganges, the fact that the Cankam poets too have praised it commends the river to his esteem.

REFORM AND PROGRESS

Varadharasan seeks to reform Tamil society very manifestly in his novels. Reform and Progress, may be claimed, to be the purpose of all his fiction. The hospitality and friendliness of the Tamil to non-Tamil (Indians or foreigners) and other favourable aspects of the Tamil character, he seeks to impress by statements of non-Tamil persons. The Tamil lack of a love of the mother tongue, he castigates too, through North Indians who have learnt Tamil during a temporary residence in Madras, and are able to quote the *Tirukkural*, while Tamil pilgrims to Banaras cannot :

> "In our homes" says the Hindi speaker, "even the old women can quote slokas. What Kumarlal said is true. The Tamils have no love of race or of their mother-tongue. That's the reason they are on the decline."

Through a great number of tactful suggestions and insinuations distributed all through his novels, Varadharasan endeavours to raise the material, moral and intellectual tone of Tamil society. Sometimes this is done by reflections on life in other parts of India; he would like to teach personal and public cleanliness; the Ganges with dead bodies and rubbish hurled into the waters of purification gives him the occasion.

Varadharasan's didacticism invariably draws inspiration from a great many religious leaders and reformers of the world, and from their great books. With the mind of a syncretist and with no allegiance to any organized religion, Varadharasan, quotes the examples and sayings of Christ, of Buddha, of Mahatma Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Ramatirtha.

Several Western and Eastern writers obtain mention in the course of his fiction, some of them writers who have influenced him. A few novelists he mentions in the course of his novels are Dickens, Victor Hugo, Tolstoy, Tagore, H. G. Wells, Pearl S. Buck.

As in many Eastern novelists of this mid-century, in Varadharasan too there is an ambivalence regarding absolute morality. The novelist does not seem to be sure of himself. There are, on the one hand, the ideals of pre-marital chastity, and the dedicated fidelity traditional to the Tamil wife, but on the other hand there is a certain freedom which the novelist would concede, to choose a partner by mutual consent. He hesitates between the absolute values postulated by tradition and religion, and the changing values of a changing society. The great problem of pre-marital and marital morality is an important theme in his novels as it is in actual life; sometimes he seems severe in his condemnation, at other times his attitude is to let the sinless cast the first stone, but there is always hesitancy and honest doubt. He does seek incipient psychoanalytic explanations and justification, but the reader is yet left with the problem.

A reviewer of *Ahal vilakku* has stated that in the book the borders of obscenity are exploited with an adolescent gloating, and that it exthibits "the suggestive viciousness of a school boy going wrong," whatever the phrase means.* The greatest admirer of the reviewer who signed himself Ka Naa Subramanyam is Ka Naa Subramanyam himself, and he seems to have failed in his objectivity, strangely enough at the exact moment when the Sahitya Acadamy at Delhi was considering the grant of an award to the very novel he was crticising. This reviewer

* Sunday Standard (Madras), March 4th, 1962.

who seems to write with an omniscience which he deprecates in others, often destroys his own objectivity by a perverse belittling of literary efforts of all writers who are not Brahmins by birth excepting those who belong to the 'Vaiyapuri Pillai' type.*

Novelists tend to repeat themselves in ideas and words, and the novelist of Madras is no exception. His didacticism compels repetition. There is, however, a growing maturity in his repetition, and in his change of scenes from the Tamil country to other parts of India. To trace the development of his thought and technique, one should be aware of the chronological order in which the novels were written. But the publishers give no such information, and a critic must abandon that aspect of study until such data are available.

STYLE AND IDEAS

Varadharasan has economical but suggestive touches when portraying domestic scenes. His characterisation of women remained at the college level in his earlier novels, but has gained in psycho-analytic insight in his later novels. His characters hark back to college days and continue old College friendships. In *Malar viḻi*, the portrait of the woman artist is one of bare statement; in *Karittundu*, the female character has more body and vigour, in *Man kudisai*, and *Nencil oru mul*, the conflict and fluctuations of soul are much more mature. Yet *Karittundu*, perhaps, is the one which answers best the requirements of the novel, in plot, in story, in technique, in style, in pathos, and in the suspense it

* See also his review in *Thought*, July 9, 1960 of 'Anthology of Tamil Poetry' edited by the late Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai and Published by the Sahitya Academy.

creates. The torso of a pavement artist, deprived of the use of his legs, striving to shuffle himself into the crowded electric train, and maintaining his equanimity and a philosophic temper in the face of rebuff and trial is unforgettable.

Of Varadharasan's mastery of Tamil prose, there can be no two opinions. What was a sonorous and effective instrument of newspaper editorials and platform addresses in Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, has become a quiet, reflective, unostentatious, and simple yet dignified medium in the hands of Varadharasan. It is clear, limpid and straight-forward except to those who would like to see a sanskritized vocabulary. His dialogues might sound artificial because of their grammatical accuracy and the precise enunciation, but here again Varadharasan is the novelist with a mission, namely, to restore Tamil conversation to Tamil, and withdraw it from the hybrid, anglicised, sanskritised, manipravala jargon affected by sections and classes of Madras with their intromission of English phrases and whole sentences ridiculously sandwiched in Tamil and more ridiculously pronounced. The long final letter of temporary adieu in *Karittundu* is a model of modern Tamil style, born of the richest and humanist traditions of Tamil beauty, ever ancient and ever new.

In the ideas and thought content of his novels, Varadharasan has carried further what Bharati initiated and Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar amplified. The general and prophetic statements of the two concerning the Renaissance in the Tamil country are discussed in Varadharasan's novels in detail and in concreteness according to the social conditions obtaining in particular classes and parti-

cular quarters and regions of the Tamil country. Ideas and discussion dominate Varadharasan's fiction. Ideas are so important that the personality of the characters which express them tends to disappear in the shadows of their ideas. One wonders if his characters are people with an emotional and aesthetic life, or philosophising men and women in whom flesh and blood are not so evident. His characters are remembered, not by their humanity, but by their thought content. No other living writer in Tamil has such a rich topical thought content; it seems anomalous that this thought content should be embodied in fiction.

One proof of his intellectualism and hyper-didacticism, is that there is little laughter and brightness and sunshine in the novels of the novelist of Madras, but a great deal of the still sad music of humanity. His is a masterly and consummate style in Tamil, but one does not find in him bright pictures and colourful scenes. The Tamil equivalent of adjectives and adverbs to denote vivid colour and sound are extremely few in his novels. Faced with the great problem of intellectual, social and material poverty in Madras, perhaps the novelist is preoccupied, and can hardly be cheerful, very much like the Israelites who hung their harps on the willows along the banks of the rivers and canals of Babylon, and sat to weep over the loss of their former glory in Sion.

Tamil Poetry 2000 Years Ago

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

The work of translators and, indeed, of the majority of those who have interpreted to the world Old Indian culture and literature, was till recently devoted to those artists who employed, as their medium of communication, that unique unifying element in the development of Indian culture, Sanskrit, that boundlessly rich, plastic and all-expressive poetic vehicle.

In South India, however, there grew up an independent and characteristic literary tradition, quite independent in its roots and beginnings of the Sanskrit tradition, which, along with other branches of artistic expression, notably music, the visual arts and dancing, points to the clearly marked specific character of the oldest South Indian culture, within the wider framework of all-Indian development and pan-Indian civilization, whose basic features have often been characterized as a hormony of contrasts and a synthesis creating unity out of diversity.

Of the existence of this original literature, which today is counted among the highest achievements of verbal art to be produced in India, the world for long had not the smallest inkling. And yet the claim of the outstanding Bengal scholar, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, is not exaggerated when he says, " Dravidian is the most important of the non-Aryan elements in the civilization of India, and the basic culture of India

is certainly over 50% Dravidian, although expressed in the main through the Aryan language."

When the Muslims broke up the South Indian feudal states and when later foreign colonial powers gradually took possession of South Indian territories, there followed the decline of all cultural life and stagnation in literary production. The period of alien domination, poverty and économic and political oppression were the main factors, preventing the free growth and flowering of Tamil literature, the oldest and richest representative of the Dravidian literatures. In the late feudal era, Tamil literary development came to a standstill : the epos decayed, mystic poetry, once aflame with a passionate devotion to God and the longing, if not to break up, at least to disregard and make light of the fetters of the caste system, withered away. Then, too, the ancient lyrical poems, whose language, content and implications were all difficult to grasp in a time of cultural eclipse, fell into forgetfulness. So it came about that the unique memorials of the oldest Tamil literature remained till recently hidden from the sight not only of literary scholars, but also from the Tamil people themselves.

In 1884 the young teacher of Tamil, as he was then, U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, on the staff of Government College in Kumbakonam, began to read the Tamil medieval epos, *Jivakachintamani*. Fascinated by this highly ornamental and formally perfect work, he took up the search for other survivals of this classical literature; unheeding the difficulties of strenuous journeys and of acquiring the necessary financial means, with remarkable diligence and perseverance he collected hundreds of the almost illegible manuscripts on palm leaves, separated the wheat from the chaff, till he had prepared for publication thousands of

verses, with his own commentary, and so brought to light, step by step, the oldest examples of South Indian literature. In 1894 the first edition was published of an Old Tamil anthology of lyrical poetry, *Puranaa-nuuru* and with it was revealed to the astounded world of specialists and Tamil cultural workers and literati an unsuspected treasure; this body of splendid, many-faceted and soaring lyrical poesy, and with it the existence of an ancient Tamil culture, a whole unknown era in the history of South India's evolution. Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar has fortunately been joined by others in his work of discovery and steady progress is being made.

European and American specialists in Indian studies, however, under the spell of the beauty and depth of thought of Sanskrit literature, had neither the time nor interest to study the ancient Tamil writings. For long they looked upon South India as tropical wilds, inhabited by barbarians, the uncultured tribes of the original inhabitants of the sub-continent. Sanskrit was considered then, on the basis of romantic views and developing racial theories, to be the 'purest', 'most original' and the oldest language of the Aryans who were destined to be the Herren-volk and kulturtrager, bringing to the autochthonous population of India the benefits of the higher Aryan civilization. It would seem, however, that the opposite was the case: the physically stronger, more energetic, and aggressive Aryan conquerors of India, nomads and semi-nomads of the Central Asian steppes and of Iranian highlands, found in India a rising and even well-developed urban civilization, far in advance of their own conceptions. Today an ever growing number of researchers incline to the view that the original Dravidian inhabitants reached India from the early

cultural cradle of the Mediterranean seaboard and of Asia Minor, some time about 3,500 B. C., and that it was the people speaking the dialects of the original Dravidian tongue who, later known to the Aryans as *Dasa, Dasyu* and subsequently as *Sudra*, were the builders of an urban civilization and one of the co-builders of the great Harappan culture.

It is still one of the mysteries of Indian history how these proto-Dravidians came to South India, where even in pre-feudal times they founded the great dynastic States of the Cholas, Cheras, Pandyas and Satiyaputras. It is possible that much light could be thrown on the problem by planned and co-ordinated work on the part of archaeologists, epigraphers and historians, carrying on their investigations on the basis of the material deriving from a study of the oldest Tamil poetry.

This poetry was later published in two large collections, entitled respectively, Eight Anthologies *(Ettuttokai)* and Ten Idylls *(Pattuppaattu)*. The two collections comprise in all 2381 poems (according to the Maha Samajam edition of 1940), attributed to 473 poets (besides anonymous pieces), the length of the poems varying from concise quatrains to idylls running to 800 lines. From the eighth to the thirteenth century, these poems—undoubtedly representing only a fraction of the products of the Old Tamil poetical art—were collected in a number of anthologies, edited with commentaries and recorded on palm leaves, which in South India, took the place of parchment, paper or birch bark.

The majority of authors are today already agreed as to the dating of this lyrical poetry. Certain data in the texts themselves—the philological evidence, the confirmatory evidence of archaeological research and

the allusions in Greek and Latin authors—all these make it possible to determine the period within which this literature arose; the majority of historians agree with the so-called Gajabahu synchronism, that is the conception according to which the Ceylonese King Gajabahu I (171-193 A. D.) was a contemporary of the Chera monarch, Senguttuvan. This ruler is then mentioned by a number of authors of Old Tamil poetry where references are made to him as to a contemporary. It is thus possible with a considerable degree of certainty to date the oldest poems of this cycle to the first few centuries of our era. On the basis of detailed considerations, which we cannot go into within the limits of this article, in which philological factors play a considerable role, allusions in contemporary Antique authors, ten references to Yavanas—Greeks and Romans—in Old Tamil poetry, archaeological finds in the old Roman garrison station of Virapatnam-Arikamedu, in South India, numerous finds of Roman coins, and so on, we may conclude that the majority of poet-creators of the oldest Tamil lyrics lived between 100 and 300 B. C. These poets are represented (if we deduct from the total the obviously younger poems which have made their way into final redaction of the older cycle) by 26,350 verses composed in the *ahaval* metre, the first and oldest metrical pattern in Tamil prosody; ahaval has no analogy in Sanskrit poetry and the nearest comparison is with English blank verse. The style, diction and metrical perfection of this poetry suggest that it must have been preceded by a period of development of at least three to five centuries.

And now a few words about the character of the period in which this poetry arose: It is certain that the majority of the poets lived at a time when

politically more consolidated forms had become established in the old tribal territories, at a time when complete ethnical, linguistic and cultural fusion had been achieved of the pre-Dravidian population of South India with the upper strata of Dravidian bearers of an urban culture, a mature peasantry and the beginnings of early feudalism, a people with a fully developed language and, most probably, also a script. The process had already considerably advanced of the division of property—the growth of private property and the rise of social classes—which led to the break-up of the primitive tribal organization. In the river valleys and in the fertile coastal plains production developed and barter on a considerable scale; large towns of different types grew up, especially important being the residence towns of the ruling sovereign and the seaport towns (Madura, Kaviripattinam, Vanji, Korkai) where a hegemony arose of the merchant class, in close association with the ruling dynasty. The members of a few notable old families gathered the economic and political power into their hands, enlarged their territories by systematic annexation of peripheral territories, thereby giving rise to a feudal state with a residence and seaport town as its centre. Despite the fact that in the more remote wooded and mountainous regions tribal divisions still existed, the Tamils already at that time had achieved nationhood, and a certain local dialect in use at the junction of trading and cultural routes, supplemented by other dialectal elements, rose to the position of the only literary Tamil language, cultivated in 'academies' (Sangams), especially in Madura. Small royal residences arose, an indispensable feature of the court, entourage being the poet-bards or *paanar*, who wandered from court to court accompanied by

musicians and dancers, in search of a patron, who would pay for his song in gold, spirits, food, clothing or confer on him his life-long favour. Not seldom the bards achieved high positions as counsellors of more or less powerful rulers, and cases are known of life-long friendships between a bard and his (or her) royal patron. A comparison at once springs to mind with West European court poesy, with which it has a number of motifs in common (dialogues between the hero and his beloved, the parting of lovers and the motif of the lying gossips (lausengiers) in Provence and of the village scandalmongers among the Tamils).

The works of these wandering minstrels and court bards, however, preserved in reminiscences and poetical images and allusions are survivals from a much earlier time. In the folk consciousness there was still alive the memory of the kinship organization of society which survived intact—for the development in South India was extremely unequal —in the time of the rise of the feudal lyric in the more inaccessible wooded and mountainous parts of the country: there tribes of possibly pre Dravidian origin were still at the stage of hunting and collecting, worshipped their tribal gods, seeking to propitiate them with bloody sacrifices and wild dancing orgies, whereas in the valleys and plains and on the seaboard the system of a hereditary monarchy had evolved, where reigning representatives built themselves brick or timber palaces and trade was carried on with the Roman Empire, muslin 'fine as smoke' was produced, where not only a complete fusion was effected between the Dravidian elements and the pre-Dravidian neolithic (Austric ?) population, (characterized by village culture and primitive farming), but whither a new element, the Aryan element, was pushing its way down from North India, with its

speculative analysis, gloomy reflections, tiring classification of entities and disintegrating pessimistic ponderings and metaphysics.

The content—the traditional and only content—of the oldest Tamil poetry are the two spheres of human activity, which the ancient Tamils designated *aham* and *puram*; aham signifies in this context domestic, private, love life; and here, actually, a tender intimate love lyric, predominantly descriptive and only rarely reflective; puram, on the other hand, signified public and political life and the life of the warrior, and is represented by war lyrics and panegyrics. Quite naturally, love and fighting, the two most striking expressions of living reality, provide the content of the oldest poesy, which has two basic characteristics realism and secularity.

Besides the basic division into these two genres, aham and puram, there existed a third classification of love poems according to the setting which the poem describes and the sub-division into the group of themes of which it treats. At first glance, it is obvious that this classification, later hardening into fixed conventions and usages, had its origin in real life; not a few poems, indeed, point to the folk song as having played an important role in their genesis. According to whether the plot of the poem in which three persons usually figure (the hero-lover, his sweetheart and the sweetheart's girl friend, or the hero, his charioteer comrade-in-arms squire, and his sweetheart, or as a third combination, the sweetheart's mother or nurse, the sweetheart and the hero) was set in the hills, in the woods or in the river-valleys, in the inland steppes or by the sea, the poems formed groups or *tinai*, and it is possible that this division reflects the historical migration of the pre-Dravidian and proto-Tamil

population from the hills and jungles to the fertile plains and to the seaboard, or, in other words, the development from the neolithic hunter, through the intermediate stage of the keeper of flocks to the settled tiller of the soil and fisherman. Each of the five *tinais* has its own fixed customs: in the life of herdsmen and their marriage customs, that of the matched by the wildness of their passion; the poetry of the steppes tells of cruel clans of robbers and the abduction of fair maidens; the poesy of the woods describes the life of herdsmen and their marriage customs, that of the peasant-cultivators of the land of the more advanced forms of social life in the fertile valleys, of monogamous families and the motif of conjugal faithlessness, and, finally, the poesy of the seaboard, which has as its characteristic motif the long separation of husband and wife, which was natural among a community where the men were absent for longer periods on fishing or trading expeditions.

Within this conventional framework, the poet had a certain freedom in the choice of theme and of the means for its expression. Whereas panegyrics and other poems of the *puram* type describe preparations for combat, the battlefield and the return from the wars, or sing the praises of the sovereign for his generosity, gratitude and bravery, the love poem of the *aham* type has a wider range of themes, derived from endless variations on the single theme of love. In both genres, however, the poems radiate a happy affirmation of life on earth, a natural acceptance of reality unclouded by corroding scepticism, an attitude which is summed up in this poem from the *Puranaa-nuuru* (191) collection:

'Lend me your ear, oh my man,
to the reason's plea;

Virtuous and noble is my wife ;
Wise are my children ;
Dutiful are my loyal stewards ;
Just is the sway of my ruler
who does no wrong.

And the hamlet where I dwell,
abounds in heroic men,
who are no passion's slaves.

Therefore my hair has not grown grey,
though far sunk I be in the vale of years."

—Translated by R. S. Desikan

If we look at this body of poetry as a whole, it is at once clear to us that it is art poetry which, with certain reservations, we may call court poetry and may justifiably be compared in certain of its features with the lyrical poetry of the Provencal troubadours. In other features, again, it is reminiscent of classical Chinese poetry : it is equally the product of a long development and a high level of culture, where apparent spontaneity is the outcome of a perfect mastery of the subject and of the form. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai aptly characterizes this aspect of Old Tamil lyrical poetry : Conciseness of expression, pregnancy of meaning, purity of diction and unity of thought are the main characteristics of these poems...There is art, severe and simple ; but of artificiality there is very little trace.

For us, however, this poetry is of interest most of all thanks to the two traits already stressed above : its realism and its secularism. The love scenes and their natural setting are described with an exceptional feeling for reality, for plasticity and for colour nuances, with a meticulous eye for detail, emotional intensity and a realism which is so untypical of India

that it is at once obvious that the creators of these poems were of another nation and another world than the authors of the classical epics and lyrics of Sanskrit. This Tamil lyric poetry is pre-eminently of this world, neither knows nor recognises religious inspiration, makes no allusion to supernatural intervention, deals with man alone and with his life on earth; only exceptionally does it reflect religious conceptions (and then, only the rites and ceremonies of more or less primitive cults) and very rarely is it of a reflective or speculative character, but where it does appear it is of a very different quality from what we find in Sanskrit literature. For the most part, this poetry describes, colourfully, splendidly, with enthusiasm and elan, occasionally with that strikingly forceful exaggeration, humour and emotion, which is peculiar to South Indian expression in all domains of art. The colourfulness of the description, the poet's emotional engagement, the elemental realism and, above all, the intimate and vital kinship with nature, the interweaving of pictures and comparisons from the life of animals and plants with pictures from human life—these are the qualities which endear this poetry to us despite the distance of space and time.

In respect of form, this poetry is remarkably mature, though the *ahaval* metre does not admit of artificiality and a toying with form; this rhythmic prose is associated with numerous alliterations and assonances, and in the finest poems of such outstanding poets as Kabilar or Paranar the verses actually rumble and roar where they describe the storming elements, and trip and chatter and bubble where they sing of a mountain stream. But the poet's individuality seldom comes into the foreground. The majority of poems, though naturally varying in quality, are anonymous in

content and style and altogether homogeneous. Themes, poetic conventions, vocabulary, the phase of linguistic development (the latter least of all) together form a unified block of creative output, of a single period of social, cultural and literary development, which could not exceed some 150 to 200 years.

The discovery of this body of roughly two thousand three hundred verses raised the Tamil language at one stroke from an insignificant neo-Indian language to the standing of one of the great classical languages of the world. Whoever has made a more intimate acquaintance with this ancient poesy will readily subscribe to the assessment of the French indologist, Pierre Meile, when he states that this poetry is comparable with the choicest gems of old Greek lyrical poetry, and that this 'cycle of Sangam poetry represents one of the summits of literary creation in India and in the whole world'. And not only that: the Old Tamil lyric is a living fount of inspiration for modern Tamil poetry not excluding that of a poet of the stature of S. Bharati; several present-day poets, foremost among whom is the highly talented Bharatidasan, draw directly upon it and consciously link up with it in their work. Thus this poetry of two milleniums ago is still alive and we cannot but hope that it will find enthusiastic, skilled and devoted interpreters, who will convey something of its beauty and riches to readers in all the main world languages.

—From NEW ORIENT, bi-monthly, 5, 1960, page 3.

Vedanayagam Pillai

FRANCIS MARAIS

The Madras Writers' Association met on July 21, 1959 at the Srinivasa Sastry Hall, Madras, to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the death of Vedanayagam Pillai and the centenary of the publication of his *Needhi nool.* Dr. A Krishnaswamy, M. P., who presided, paid a glowing tribute to the contribution of the poet in the field of Tamil literature and service. Prof. M. Rathnaswamy, unveiling a portrait of the poet, called him the 'Father of modern Tamil prose.' Mr. K. V. Jegannathan of '*Kalaimagal*' characterized the poet's literary works as a 'human document throbbing with life.' Prof. P. Sambamoorthy pointed out the significant contribution that Vedanayagam Pillai had made to Carnatic music. At long last, the Tamil world seemed to have awakened to the inestimable and life-long service of love rendered to her by one of her great sons.

Vedanayagam Pillai was born in 1826 to Savarimuthu Pillai and Arokiamariammal of Vellala community—descendants of the Kongu Rayars who had served under the Kongu Princes—in Kulathur, a place known even in Sangam Literature, some ten miles from Tiruchirapalli. His forefathers originally professing Saivism had become converts to Christianity two generations earlier. Till ten years of age Vedanayagam went to the local village school, and then a desire for the knowledge of English (at that time a passport to life) made him leave for Tiruchirapalli and place himself there under one Thyaga Pillai, a court translator and a friend of his father. Here he laid the founda-

tion of his solid knowledge of English and Tamil, and his practical gift was already in evidence. After some ten years as a pupil under Thyaga Pillai, Vedanayagam now 22 years old, entered service in 1848 as a record-keeper in the Tiruchirapalli District Court and became two years later the court translator. It was his duty to send English translations of the court proceedings to the Suddar Court. As some translations of the local court proceedings did not reach the Suddar Court, through no fault of Vedanayagam Pillai, he was dismissed from his work by the District Court judge Mr. Greenway. Vedanayagam Pillai appealed against that decision. Sometime later the missing records were found in a trunk of Mr. Davidson, the previous judge, and the Suddar Court ordered the reinstatement of Vedanayagam Pillai.

About 1856 the post of District Munsiff in Tranquebar became vacant, and Vedanayagam Pillai was one of the three successful applicants for it. He was appointed to the office in 1857, and after a short period in Tranquebar he was transferred to Sirkali and later to Mayuram. He remained in Mayuram till he retired with a pension in 1872 owing to a misunderstanding with one Mr. Nelson, the District Court judge there.

After his retirement Vedanayagam Pillai served for some years as the Municipal Chairman in Mayuram. If his retirement from Government service was a loss to the public, it was a gain to Tamil literature. His *Needhi nool* had already appeared in 1859, and his advice to women 'பெண்மதி மாலை' and the two essays on the same theme in 1869 while he was still in service as a judge. But most of his poetical works and his two ventures in fiction belong to this period of retirement. The year 1873 saw the publication of four short poems,

திருவருள் மாலை, திருவருள் அந்தாதி, தேவமாதா அந்தாதி, பெரிய நாயகி அம்மன் அந்தாதி. His சர்வ சமய சமரசக் கீர்த்தனைகள், very popular to this day, was published in 1878. Some ten years later, in 1889, appeared two collections of Catholic songs தேவதோத்திர மாலை and சத்திய வேத கீர்த்தனைகள். That year saw also the demise of Vedanayagam Pillai.

Tamil prose, which began with the early commentators, found its feet only in the nineteenth century. Christian missionaries had used it earlier, and writers like De Nobili and Beschi had given a great impetus to the formation of a Tamil prose literature. Perhaps the first literary work in Tamil prose is Beschi's '*Paramartha Guru*', a satire on ignorant priesthood. With the appearance of *Panchathanthra Kathai* in the middle of the nineteenth century modern Tamil prose may be said to have definitely begun. But till the beginning of the twentieth century production in Tamil literary prose was intermittent. Vedanayagam Pillai's two works of fiction, *Prathapa Mudaliar* and *Suguna Sundary*, and his essays on women's education, form a considerable proportion of this meagre output.

Prathapa Mudaliar has the distinction of being the first work in Tamil of a new genre. Both *Prathapa Mudaliar* (1876) and *Suguna Sundary* (1877) when judged by modern standards of fiction, read more like prose epics than novels. Innumerable sub-plots, speeches and coincidences, but loosely connected with the main story, may detract from their value as novels, in comparison with close-knit modern fiction. And the characters have been delineated more with an eye to an ideal to be presented than from actual life. 'I have represented the principal personages as perfectly virtuous,' writes the author in his introduction to *Prathapa Mudaliar*.

But for all their idealism the characters are not devoid of life, and the background remains, with all its improbabilities, essentially the Tamil land of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Besides, Vedanayagam Pillai wrote these works of fiction with a purpose in view to point out the defects and short-comings of our social and political life, and seized all occasions to preach his reforms. Indeed, through all his writings in prose or verse runs the zeal of the social missionary. And above all, the language, rich and flowing like a broad stream, possesses the essential qualities of a literary style and remains to this day a model of literary prose.

In *Prathapa Mudaliar* and *Sugunasundary* the heroines seize every occasion to speak on the social evils of the day. There are quite a few sermonettes on topics ranging from the principles of personal hygiene to personal and social virtues. His advice to pleaders is a regular treatise on the administration of justice. He condemns in the strongest terms bribery and corruption. In telling and memorable verse he exposes, often with much humour, the corrupt practices prevalent in the profession. His plea for the use of Tamil at the levels will find echoes in the heart of every lover of Tamil.

அண்டப் புரட்டன்அந்த வாதி—அகி
லாண்டப் புரட்டன்அப்பா அவன்பிரதி வாதி
சண்டப்ர சண்டன்நியாய வாதி—நாளும்
சாத்திரப் புளுகன்சாட்சிக் காரனெனும் கியாதி.

This on accepting bribes :

சம்பள மிருக்கப்பின் மேல்வரு மானம்
தனைநாடி ஏன்அதன் மேல்நித்ய தியானம்?
அம்புவி மிசைவிளைந் திடும்அவ மானம்,
அதைவிட எடுக்கலா மேஉபா தானம்!

Perhaps his best efforts in prose and verse in the sphere of social reform were devoted to the promotion of the education of women. He devoted a whole book to advocate with every possible argument, the education of girls and touched upon the subject frequently in his songs and two novels. In very telling stanzas he makes his point :

எழுத்துவா சகமறி யாதவள் மட்டி;
ஏது மறியாதவள் சுரண்டுவாள் சட்டி;
கழுத்திலே அவளுக்குத் தாலியைக் கட்டிக்
காரிய மிலைஅது காசுக்கு நட்டி.

He ends his 'Advice to women' with two songs in which women plead with men the cause of their education :

வித்தையில் லாப்புரு டன்செய்கை பாரும்—அந்த
விதமல்ல வோபடை யாமட வாரும்?
உத்தமி யையே விரும்புவீர் நீரும்—கல்வி
உணராவிட் டாற்குண மெப்படிச் சேரும்?

காலைக்கு மாலைக்கு மூலைக்குள் எங்களை
ஆலைக் கரும்புபோல் தேய்த்தீர்—பாக
சாலைக்கும் மன்மத லீலைக்கும் மேவின
வேலைக்கும் எங்களை மாயத்தீர்;
மூலைக்கல் விநாங்கள் வாசித்தால் ஆபத்தோ?
மூடப்பெண் கொள்வீ ருமக்குப் பெரும்பித்தோ?
ஓலைக் கிரந்தங்க ளுங்கள்பாட் டன்சொத்தோ?
உமக்கென்ன காணும் தலைமேற் றலைபத்தோ?

A word may be added on Vedanayagam Pillai's contribution to Carnatic music. Prof. Arunchala Gounder deals with the question at some length in his life of the poet (pp. 102-111). Vadanayagam Pillai was not, it is true, a great creative musician like Thyagaraja Aiyar or Muthusamy Dikshitar. His main credit is that he helped to popularize the use of Tamil in musical compositions. Carnatic music had witnessed great creative activity in the early decades of the century, but the Tamil language had little or no place

in it. Vedanayagam Pillai made good this short-coming. In his compositions, words and music fuse into one, as he was both a poet and a musician, and his words as well as his music are inspired, or rather they form part of the same inspiration and complete each other. The great popularity of his song even today attests to his greatness as real musician.

As a poet Vedanayagam Pillai may not reach the same stature as Subramanya Barathi. It was not given to him to voice the hopes and longings of a new age, for that age was not yet born. But he was a forerunner of the modern Tamil renaissance, and a new accent is already heard in his poetry unmistakably though but occasionally. There is an easy flow in his verses though he may not be so prolific as his contemporary and friend, Mahavidwan Minakshi Sundaram Pillai. He keeps in the main to the traditions of the past. The *Needhi nool,* his highest poetical achievement, maintains the traditional metres, language and imagery. But he handles them with great ease and mastery, and makes them in his social poems a vehicle of new ideas.

To understand the importance of Vedanayagam Pillai we must take ourselves back to the last decades of the nineteenth century. The picture of the Tamil country of those years has been marvellously portrayed for us in the writings of Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar, in his autobiography, biographies and essays. It was a period of sowing, not of harvesting, and what the writers of that day sowed in tears we reap today in joy. They moved in a twilight atmosphere—Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar rescuing the treasures of the past, Pandit Savariraya Pillai laying the foundation for a critical approach to literature, Prof. Sundaram Pillai and Pandit Suryanarayana Sastry making new ventures in

the field of dramatic and lyric poetry. But more than any one else, Vedanayagam Pillai tried to break through the crust of slavish tradition that lay thick upon literary. efforts, and to regain. for the people creative vision. The difficulties in his way were almost insurmountable. The new forces in the country were still amorphous and did not have as yet much point and drive. For that we had to wait for nearly a century more.

But as a creative artist Vedanayagam Pillai saw far ahead into the future and prepared for it by his patient, devoted, self-less spade work. And that future did not betray him. The flowering of Tamil literature in the second quarter of the present century is the fulfilment of that promise. Barathi's national lyrics and Thiru-Vi-Ka's prose-poems, Kalki's masterly story-telling, and Puthumaippiththan's short-story technique are but the fulfilment, and we have every reason to be proud of them. But while rejoicing in the fulfilment, we may not forget those who bore the heat and burden of the day, the handful of stout-hearted labourers who toiled in the face of indifference, opposition and hardship. To them belongs the credit and glory of working for the new harvest, and to Vedanayagam Pillai falls, perhaps the largest share.

Among the nineteenth century prose writers Vedanayagam Pillai easily takes the front rank. His language remains, within certain limits, at once clear, idiomatic and musical. It has not perhaps the verve of some modern writers, but in his time the forces in operation now were not awake, or, at any rate were not in full operation. He was one of the pioneers in this field, and kept to the main aim of prose — a clear communication of one's ideas. He did employ a learned style, and his deep knowledge of Tamil

classics enabled him to maintain a high level. His is a clear, direct and forcible style. Perhaps, too, his style may be found fault with as intermingled with Sanskrit words. But as Mr. A. V. Subramanya Aiyar points out in his '*Modern Tamil Literature*' (p. 121), his use of Sanskrit words is appropriate, beautiful and moderate. Prof. K. Arunachala Gounder discusses the whole question in the introduction (p. iv) to his life '*Vedanayagam Pillai.*' He concludes his discussion with the words : "A progressive community requires a language which expresses all the changes and growths in its ideas. And our writer fulfilled just this need."

Mr. A. V. Subramanya Aiyar remarks in his '*Modern Tamil Literature*' that, though Vedanayagam Pillai has written some poetry, his lasting fame in Tamil literature will be only that of a prose-writer. This is too categorical a statement to be admitted. Vedanayagam Pillai's moral verses and devotional songs are as popular as his works of fiction, and may lay claim to a lasting reputation as much as his prose works.

Vedanayagam Pillai's poetical works are considerable and fall easily into three distinct groups—moral, social and devotional. His first poetic effort was *Needhi nool*, a work of some 400 stanzas, published in 1859 while its author was still at Sirkali. The next year when he had been transferred to Mayuram, it appeared in a second edition enlarged by an additional 200 stanzas. A decade later was published *Penmathimalai* in 170 distichs, and the four songs on a good wife and women's education. The year 1873 saw the publication of four short works - all devotional poetry and on Christian themes—*Thiruvarul malai*, *Thiruvarul anthathi*, *Thevamatha anthathi* and *Peria nayaki*

amman Anthathi. His *Sarva samaya Samarasa Kirthanaigal* was published in 1873 and still remains his most popular work. Its counterpart *Sathyavedha Kirthanaigal* came out in 1889, the year of his death.

In his *Needhi nool*, Vedanayagam Pillai deals with the moral principles that should guide a man throughout his life. As all human morality is based on man's responsibility to a Creator, the poet devotes the first two chapters to proving God's existence and enlarging upon his attributes. Some very beautiful stanzas are to be found in this section. To prove God's existence and explain His infinite qualities many and varied proofs and similes are pressed into service—much of them traditional, some original.

தீட்டுவோ னின்றி யாமோ சித்திரம்? திகழ்பொற் பாவை
ஆட்டுவோ னின்றித் தானே யாடுமோ? திவவி யாழின்
மீட்டுவோ னின்றிக் கீதம் விளையுமோ? சராச ரங்கள்
நாட்டுவோன் ஒருவ னின்றி நன்கமைந் தொழுகுங் கொல்லோ?

And this on God's omnipresence:

தரையெலா முளன்,து ரும்பு தன்னினும் உளன்,அண் டாண்ட
நிரையெலா முளன்,மெய் யாவி நெஞ்சுளும் உளன்,இ யம்பும்
உரையெலா முளன்,தான் மேவி யுறைபொருள் கெடக்கெ டாதான்
புரைதபு தன்னைத் தானே பொருவுவோன் ஒருவ னன்றே?

The poet deals with every phase of human life—rulers and subjects, teachers and students, parents and children, husband and wife, virtues and vices—and his verses here are singularly graceful and rich in wisdom. The following stanzas on the right attitude of a king towards his subjects recall to us some well-known poems in *Purananuru* (Puram. 186 and 55)

மன்னுயி ரனைத்தும் தன்னுயி ரென்ன
மகிழ்வொடு தாங்கி,யா ரேனும்,
'இன்னலுற் றயர்ந்தோம்' எனக்கலுழ்ந் திடில்தன்
இருவிழி நீரினை உகுப்பான்,

அன்னவெங் துயரை நீக்குமுன் தானென்
றயின்றிடான், துயின்றிடான், எவரும்
நன்னக ரெங்கும் உளனெனப் பகர
நாடொறும் இயங்குவன் கோனே.

மன்னவன் வலிசெங் கோலினு லன்றி
வாளினாற் சேனையா லில்லை;
நன்னெறி வழுவா மன்னவன் றனக்கு
நாடெலாம் பேரரண்; உலகின்
மன்னுயி ரெல்லா மவன்படை; அன்னோர்
மனமெலா மவனுறை பீடம்;
இன்னதன் மையனு யரசளிப் பவனை
இகல்செயுந் தெறுநரு முளரோ ?

He describes in beautiful language the reasons for the love and obedience that a child owes to its parents, and the intimacy that should exist between a husband and his wife:

சின்னவோர் பொருள்தந் தோரைச் சீவனுள் ளவு முள்ளத்
துன்னவே வேண்டு மென்ன உரைத்தனர் பெரியோர்; தேகந்
தன்னையா ருயிரைச் சீரார் தரணியின் வாழ்வைத் தந்த
அன்னை தந் தையர்க்குச் செய்யும் அருங்கைம்மா றுளதோ அம்மா !

அன்பருண்ணில் என்பசிபோம்; அவர்களிக்க யான்களிப்பேன்;
துன்பமவ ருறில்யானுந் துன்புறுவேன்; ஆதலினால்
என்புடல்வே றெனினும்எமக் கின்னுயிரொான் றெனவறிந்தேன்;
பின்பவர்தாம் என்னைவிட்டுப் பிரிவதெவ்வா றுரைசகியே!

And this in praise of charity:

அணியிலார்க் கணியாம்; வாய்ந்த அழகிலார்க் கழகாம்; நீண்ட
பிணியினார்க் கெக்க ளிப்பாம்; பேறிலார்க் கன்ன தாம்; உள்
துணிவிலார்க் குணர்வெல் லாமாம்; துப்பிலார்க் கொப்பில்
துப்பாம் ;
தணிவில்பாக் கியங்க ளெல்லாம் தருமமல் லதுவே றுண்டோ?

Vedanayagam Pillai was an ardent social reformer. Living in the second half of the nineteenth century, he saw the need of social reform in all its phases, if the Tamil community was to be raised. Like Barathi, of a later date, he shed tears on the social shortcomings of his people, their ignorance and superstition, disunion and cowardice.

All his writings in prose and verse had this one purpose in view—the social uplift of his people. As a foundation for their social character, he inculcates upon them moral virtues. In his introduction to *Prathapa Mudaliar* he writes: "I have inculcated piety towards God, and pointed out ***religious and social*** duties of life. I have endeavoured to exhibit the inherent beauty of virtue and to expose the deformity of vice in such a way as to create the love of the one and a detestation of the other."

Manimekalai

S. J. GUNASEGARAM

Manimekalai is the heroine of the Buddhist Classic in Tamil entitled '*Manimekalai*' - the only epic of the type in the whole range of Buddhist literature. It is the compostion of a Tamil Buddhist merchant known as Sattanar. The consensus of opinion among Tamil scholars is that the work belongs to the second century, the period following the Sangam classics.

The author was a friend of Ilanko (the young Prince), a younger brother of Senguttuvan, the king associated with the dedication of the temple to Pattini, or Kannakai (Kannaki)—the chaste. Ilanko was the illustrious author of *Silappathikaram* (The Epic of the Anklet), and these two Tamil classics have often been referred to as 'Twin Epics'.

C. R. Reddy in his foreword to '*Dravidian India,*' by T. R. Sesha Iyengar, calls Manimekalai a 'supreme pearl of Dravidian poesy'.[1] 'The investigation and enquiry into Tamil literary tradition' says Krishnaswami Iyengar, 'leads to the conclusion that it is a work of classic excellence in Tamil literature and may be regarded as a Sangam work in that sense.'[2]

The same scholar refers to it as a 'Tamil Treatise on Buddhist Logic'. Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai refers to it as 'this great classic'.[3] M D. Raghavan ('*Times of Ceylon*', 1-5-58), writing on the contribution of

1. '*Dravidian India,*' by Sesha Iyengar, Luzac & Co., London.
2. '*Manimekalai in its Historical Setting,*' by Krishnaswami Iyangar, Preface. p. VII.
3. '*History of Tamil Language and Literature*', by S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 155.

Tamils to the religious system of the Island (Ceylon) says, "It will always remain a sense of pride to us that the greatest if not the only classical epic of Theravada Buddhism exists in the Tamil language. The poetry of Manimekalai (2nd century A. D) remains one of the finest jewels of Tamil poetry."

In contrast Sinhalese writers of recent times, either because their knowledge of Tamil literature is scanty or because they have failed to note the opinions of scholars who rank it high among the Tamil classics, refer to it merely as a 'poem'. Dr. Malalasekera alludes to the conflict between the Naga kings found in the 'Tamil poem Manimekalai', mentioned in the *Mahavamsa* (6th century).[1]

While the *Mahavamsa* places the scene of the battle at Nagadipa,[2] the earlier chronicle, '*The Dipavamsa*' (4th C.), says, that the battle was fought in Tambapanni,[3] ie., the North of Ceylon. The Manimekalai gives the name of the scene as Manipallavam, identified by Rajanayagam Mudaliar as North Ceylon.[4]

Dr. Paranavitane refers to Manimekalai as 'a Tamil poem, a work attributed to the second century of the Christian era', and adds that the goddess Manimekalai after whom the heroine of the work is named seems to have been a patron saint of the sea faring people of the Tamil land who professed the Buddhist faith. The same writer refers to a non-canonical Pali work which "contains a very old legend of South Indian origin. The work states that one of the six stupas had been built by Tamil merchants."[5]

1. '*Vamsattha Pakkasini*', Commentary on the *Mahavamsa*, by Dr. G.P. Malalasekera, Vol. 1. Int. p. LXXVI.
2. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 1, V, 47.
3. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. ii, V. 3.
4. '*Ancient Jaffna*', p. 26.
5. *C. L. R.*, Vol, 1. No. 1. Jan; 1931.

Dr. Paranavitane quotes *Rajavalia* (which he calls 'a Sinhalese historical work of the (17th C.) where we are told that she would be mother of Duttugemunu ('Vihara-Devi' now 'Vihara Maha-Devi'), who had been offered by her father as a sacrifice to appease the sea-gods, was brought by the goddess Manimekalai across the sea to Magama, where she found her future husband. What Dr. Paranavitane describes as 'a Sinhalese historical work', Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai says, 'is not of any historical value and cannot be relied upon'.[1] Dr. Mendis in his early history of Ceylon has expressed a similar opinion.[2]

Two facts however, emerge from these references. The tradition accepted in Ceylon that the goddess Manimekalai was the patron saint of early Tamil merchants, points to a very early period in the history of Ceylon during which Tamil Buddhist influence had reached the Island.

The *Dipavamsa* (4th C.) and the *Mahavamsa* (6th C.), the Pali Buddhist Chronicles of Ceylon, refer to the conflict between two Naga Princes of North Ceylon for the ownership of the Island. The quarrel is said to have been settled by Buddha himself. The two references, though there are differences in detail, are found in the *Manimekalai*. It is unlikely that the Tamil author of *Manimekalai* could have had access to the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon composed and preserved in some remote Vihara in the Island. Unless and until an earlier common source for the story could be cited, the *Manimekalai* should be assigned to a date earlier than that of the *Mahavamsa* and the *Dipavamsa*.

1. Vaiyapuri Pillai, ibid, n. p. 144.
2. '*The Early History of Ceylon*'. Dr. G. C. Mendis, 1954 Edition, p. 25.

The consensus of opinion among students of Tamil literature has been that classic *Manimekalai* belongs to the 2nd century A. D., though not a Sangam work. Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai, a fellow worker with K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, (a distinguished historian and South Indian Sankritist who has striven to establish the priority and supremacy of Sanskrit literary influences in the South), has challenged the date attributed to *Manimekalai* and post dates it. He adduces a number of arguments to show that the *Manimekalai* and the connected classic *Silappathikaram* are assignable to the 8th century, but accepts that the former was an earlier composition."[1]

As already indicated below, Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai rejects the tradition recorded in the Sinhalese Chronicle *Rajavalia*. Although unreliable and comparatively recent, the *Rajavali* records a persistent tradition in Ceylon regarding the introduction of Pattini (Kannaki) worship to Ceylon by Gajabahu I, in the 2nd century A. D. There is clear mention in the *Silappathikaram* that Gajabahu was present at the dedication of the temple to Pattini by Cheran Senguttuvan.[2] That Cheran Senguttuvan was an eminent king of the Sangam age is well known.

Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai holds that the most important statement from a historical standpoint that Gajabahu of Ceylon was present at Senguttuvan's court stands singularly uncorroborated. He admits however that *Manimekalai* corroborates the statement in the *Silappathikaram* that it was at Senguttuvan's capital, the consecration of Kannaki's temple took place; but doubts that Gajabahu was present at the ceremony because the *Manimekalai* does not mention Gajabahu.

1. Vaiyapuri Pillai, ibid. pp. 139 - 155
2. *Culuvamsa* I, Int. p, V.

Neither *Manimekalai* nor *Silappathikaram* is a historical work. The poet chooses incidents that are relevent to his thesis. That the author of the *Manimekalai* has failed to corroborate its 'twin epic' about the presence of Gajabahu I of Ceylon at Senguttuvan's Court does not prove Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai's case, although such corroboration would have been helpful. But it has been pointed out that both the works agree that the consecration was at the capital of Cheran Senguttuvan who is known to have ruled in the 2nd century A. D.

Again that Paranar, one of the illustrious poets of the Tamil Sangam age, has failed to mention in his poem on Sengattuvan anything about the installation of Kannaki as deity or about Ilanko being Senguttuvan's brother or about Gajabahu—should not be taken as a serious argument to support the Professor's case. Not all the works of Paranar and of the Sangam age have come down to us. It depends, moreover, what religious views Paranar held for him to consider the dedication of the temple of Kannagi as an important event. Ilanko (which merely means the young Prince) himself might have been too young to have merited notice by Paranar. It is admitted that both *Manimekalai* and Ilanko's works are post Sangam classics.

The Professor's most unconvincing of all arguments from silence is his emphasis on the fact that the *Mahavamsa* has failed to state anything about Gajabahu's attendance at the consecration ceremony, at the Chola capital or of the introduction of Pattini (Kannagi) worship to Ceylon.

Of the *Mahavamsa* it has been pointed out that "not what is said but what is unsaid is its besetting difficulty." One does not expect a monkish chroniclar bent on 'the edification of the pious' Buddhists to refer

to an illustrious king of Anuradhapura introducing a Hindu Cult. It is well known that Gajabahu I, if not a Hindu, was without doubt a king with Hindu leanings. This probably accounts for the scant attention paid to the reign of this king in the pious Buddhist romance.

The fact appears to be that Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai finds support in the statement made by the Prof. Jacobi, is to the effect the logic of *Manimekalai* is more or less a copy of *Nyayapravesa* of Dignaga attributed to the 4th centuy A. D.

Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai in a note to his appendix in the *History of Tamil language and literature*, p. 189, says:

" It is well known that the author of the *Manimekalai* is indebted for this section to Dignaga's *Nyayapravesa......* Professor Jacobi renders it very probable that Dignaga perhaps even Dharmakirti, was known to this classic in Tamil."

Prof- Vayapuri Pillai seems to have ignored the fact that long ago Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyangar, a recognised authority on the *Manimekalai*, had convincingly rebutted Prof. Jacobi's assumption that the Buddhist logic of *Manimekalai* is derived from that of Dignaga's *Nyayapravesa*. He has stated in clear terms that, 'We have good reason for regarding *Manimekalai* as a work anterior to Dignaga'.[1]

Discussing the "clear cut, succint statement, found in the *Manimekalai* of the main Buddhist theory of the '*The four truths*', '*The twelve Nidanas*', and the means of getting to the correct knowledge, which ultimately would put an end to 'Being'. Dr. S. Krishnasamy

1. Krishnasamy Iyangar, ibid, Int. p. XXVIII.

Iyangar says, "There is nothing that may be regarded as referring to any form of Mahayana Buddhism, particularly the Sunyavada as formulated by Nagarjuna. One way of interpreting this silence would be that Nagarjuna's teaching as such of the Sunyavada had not yet travelled to the Tamil country to be mentioned in connection with the orthodox teaching of Buddhism or to be condemned as orthodox." [1]

Again Iyangar points out that in Chapter XXX of *Manimekalai* 'the soul referred seems clearly to be to the individual soul and not to the universal soul'. He adds, 'These points support the view to that which we were led in our study of the previous book, and thus make the work clear one of a date anterior to Dignaga and not posterior."[2]

Dr. S. Krishnasamy Iyangar clinches his argument by reference to the Chola rule at Kanchi. "Kanchi is referred to as under the rule of the Cholas yet, and the person actually mentioned as holding rule at the time was the younger brother of the Chola ruler for the time being. Against this Viceroyalty an invasion was undertaken by the united armies of the Cheras and the Pandyas which left the Chera capital Vanji impelled by earth hunger and nothing else, and attacked the Viceroyalty. The united armies were defeated by the princely viceroy of the Cholas who presented to the elder brother, the monarch, as spoils of war, the umbrellas that he captured on the field of battle. This specific historical incident which is described with all the precision of a historical statement in the work must decide the question along with the other historical matter, to which we have already adverted. No princely viceroy of the Chola was possible in Kanchi after A. D. 300, from which period we have a

1, 2. Ibid. Int. pp. XXVIII - XXIX.

continuous succession of Pallava rulers holding sway in the region. Once the Pallavas had established their position in Kanchi, their neighbours in the west and the north had become others than the Cheras. From comparatively early times, certainly during the 5th century, the immediate neighbours to the west were the Gangas, and little farther to the west by north were the Kadambas, over both of whom the Pallavas claimed suzerainty readily recognized by the other parties. This position is not reflected in the *Manimekalai* or *Silappathikaram*. Whereas that which we find actually and definitely stated is very much more a reflection of what is derivable from purely Sangam literature so called. This general position together with the specific datum of the contemporaneity of the authors to Senguttuvan Chera must have the decisive force. Other grounds leading to a similar conclusion will be found in our other works, '*The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature*' (*Ancient India*, chapter xiv), '*The Beginnings of South Indian History*', and, '*The Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*'. The age of the Sangam must be anterior to that of the Pallavas and the age of the *Manimekalai* and *Silappathikaram*, if not actually referable as the works of the Sangam as such, certainly is referable to the period in the course of the activity of the Sangam".[1]

The *Manimekalai* is an exposition of Hinayāna Buddhism. Hinayana as distinct from Mahàyàna, is a Southern school—an earlier school—of Buddhism than Mahàyàna.

The Ceylon tradition that Buddhaghosa, in the 5th century, had to come over to the Island from the Tamil country in South India to write the commentaries on the earlier Pali texts on Hinayàna into pure Magadhi is

1. Ibid. Int. pp. XXVIII - XXIX.

an indication that in the 5th century itself Mahàyàna had become dominant in South India. This tendency finds further support in the Introduction of a form of Mahàyànist teaching into Ceylon (the doctrine referred as the Vaituliyan heresy) in the previous century, by the Chola monk Sanghamitta, the friend of Mahàsena king of Anuradhapura.[1]

Moreover the reference in Manimekalai to the popularity of Buddhism in Javakam indicates that *Manimekalai* had been written long before Mahàyānism became the dominant form of Buddhism under the Sailendra Empire, in islands such as Java and Sumatra.

Sir R. Winstedt attests to the fact that the Buddhist story of *Manimekalai* left by the Tamil merchants Sumatran folklore had been retold in the Malay Peninsula and written down in modern times.[2]

Again it has been shown that the earlier Sangam works as well as *Manimekalai* and *Silappathikaram* make no references to the Pallavas who ruled at Kanchi from 325 A.D.[3] But all the references in the *Manimekalai* are to the earlier Chola kings such as Nalankilli and Ilankilli. Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai apparently ignores these evidences.

Note

For a full discussion of the question of the date of *Manimekalai*, reference to Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai's '*History of Tamil literature*', p. 142, may be made. His arguments to give it a comparatively late date had been met by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyangar in his introduction to his '*Manimekalai in its Historical*

1. MHV. CH. XXXVII, V. V. 2-5.
2. '*Malaya - A Cultural History*', by Sir Richard Winstedt, p. 139.
3. '*Buddhism and Tamil*', ibid, p. 200.

Setting', published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Society, Madras.

The Influence of *Manimekalai* and *Silappathikaram* on Sinhalese Literature:

Reference may be made to Dr. Godakumbura's '*Sinhalese Literature*', pages 279-288, to form some idea of the Tamil literary and religious sources which had inspired Sinhalese literature after the dethronement of Pali as the vehicle of expression of foreign Buddhist monks.

Dr. Godakumbura remarks that 'after the 16th century, when few could read the *Dharma* in its original Pali or even comprehend the compendiums written in Sinhalese', Vanijasuriya wrote the *Devadath Kathaya* in Sinhalese verse.

Commenting on the very great popularity of the story of Pattini in Sinhalese villages, Dr. Godakumbura writes :

"Literature, dealing with Pattini and the origin of the worship, is very large, and most of it has come from Tamil sources. The *Silappathikaram* and *Manimekalai* are the two main classics dealing with the story of Kannaki and Kovalan........

"It is quite possible that some popular poems existed in Tamil and these and not the classics were the sources of the numerous ballads about the Goddess".

Dr. Godakumbura also tells us that *Vyanthamala* by Tisimahla, 'gives a brief description of the Chola king in the classical style and that the author's description of the dancing of Madavi (the mother of Manimekalai), 'is one of the finest in the whole field of Sinhalese poetry.'

(Pattini—Kannaki—the heroine of *Silappathikaram* was the wife of Kovalan and Madavi was Kovalan's lover. Manimekalai, the heroine of '*Manimekalai*', was the daughter of Madavi by Kovalan)

Dr. Godakumbura then gives a fairly comprehensive list of Sinhalese writings based on the story of *Silappathikaram* and of deities popular among the Tamils—deities such as the God of Kataragama (Murugan), Ganesha, the brother of Murugan, and Vishnu—all attributed to stories from Tamil sources.

காவிரியின் கரையில் இலக்கியம்

எம். பழனி

இலக்கியம் என்பது இலக்கு என்பதன் அடியாகப் பிறந்ததாகும். அம்பு எய்வோன் ஓர் இலக்கு அமைத்துக் கொண்டு அம்பினை எய்தல் போல, நூல் செய்பவரும் ஒரு கருத்தினை இலக்காக அமைத்துக்கொண்டு நூலினைச் செய்தலின், நூல் இலக்கியம் எனப்பட்டது. நூலில் அமையும் கருத்தும் மக்கள் வாழ்க்கையைச் செம்மைப்படுத்துவதாக அமைவது மட்டும் போதாது. அக்கருத்துச் சொற்சுவை பொருட்சுவை நிரம்பியதாக இருத்தலோடு மக்கள் உள்ளத்தில் என்றும் நிலை பெறுவதாகவும் இருத்தல் வேண்டும். சங்க காலத்தில் தோன்றிய பாடல்களும், திருக்குறள், சிலப்பதிகாரம், மணிமேகலை, தேவாரம், திருவாசகம், இராமாயணம், பெரிய புராணம் முதலியனவும் சிறந்த இலக்கியத்திற்குரிய பண்புகள் அமையப் பெற்றிருக்கின்றமையின், மக்கள் உள்ளத்தில் இன்றும் நிலை பெற்றிருக்கின்றன. இலக்கியம் படிப்பதற்கு மட்டும் சுவையாக இருந்தால் அது மக்களுக்கு முழுப் பயனையுந் தாராது. படிக்கும் போது உண்டாகும் மகிழ்ச்சிதான் அதனாலடையும் பயனாகும். ஆதலின், இலக்கியம் மக்கள் வாழ்க்கைக்கு வழி காட்டியாக அமைய வேண்டும். அத்தகைய நூல்களே சிறந்த இலக்கியங்களாக மக்களால் மதிக்கப்படும்.

மக்கள் வாழ்க்கைக்கு எவையெவை இன்பமும் பயனும் தருகின்றனவோ, அவற்றிலெல்லாம் மக்கள் உள்ளம் ஈடுபடுகிறது. ஆதலின், சிறந்த இலக்கியம் இயற்றுபவர்களும் மக்கள் மன நிலையை உணர்ந்து அதற்கேற்பக் கருத்துக்களை அமைக்கின்றார்கள்.

'மக்களுக்குப் பயன்படக்கூடிய கருத்துக்களைத் தொகுத்துத் தரும் நூல்களே இலக்கியம். ஒரு சாரார் மட்டும் படித்துப் பயனடையக் கூடிய விண்ணியல், பொருளாதாரம், தத்துவம், வரலாறு ஆகியவை இலக்கியமாகா ; சாத்திரங்

கள்,' என்று வில்லியம் ஹென்றி ஹட்சன் (William Henry Hudson) என்பவர் கூறுகிறார்.

ஆனால், ஹாலம் (Hallam) என்பவர், 'மருத்துவமும் சமயநூலும் சட்டநூலும் இலக்கியங்களாகும்,' என மறுத்துக் கூறுவர். மௌல்டன் (Moulton) என்பவர் இலக்கியத்தைப் பற்றிக் கூறும் போது அதில் சமயநூல், தத்துவம், வரலாறு, மொழி நூல் ஆகியவைகளும் இடம் பெறுமெனவும், ஆதலின் இலக்கியம் வேறு, சாத்திரம் வேறு எனப் பிரிக்க இயலாதெனவும் கூறுவர்.

வாழ்க்கை முறையினை மொழி வாயிலாக எடுத்துக் காட்டுவதுதான் இலக்கியமென்று ஹட்சன் என்பவர் சுருக்கமாகக் கூறுகின்றார்.

சிறந்த எண்ணங்கள் பொதிந்து கிடக்கும் நூலே இலக்கியமாகும் என்பது எமர்சன் (Emerson) என்பவரின் கருத்தாகும்.

தாமஸ் கார்லைல் (Thomas Carlyle) என்பவர், 'இலக்கியம் என்பது இயற்கையில் எழில் நலத்தைச் சுட்டிக்காட்டி மக்களை நல்வழியிற்செலுத்தி இறைவன்பால் ஈடுபடச் செய்வது,' என்பர்.

இவ்வாறு இலக்கியம் என்பதற்கு அறிஞர்கள் தரும் பல்வேறு விளக்கங்களை நோக்குமிடத்து, மக்கள் அறிவினை வளப்படுத்தி, அவர்களை நல்லொழுக்கத்தில் ஈடுபடும்படி செய்து, வாழ்க்கை முறையினைச் செம்மைப்படுத்துவதே இலக்கியத்தின் குறிக்கோள் என்று கூறலாம்.

இலக்கியம் எவ்வாறு மக்களுடைய பண்பாட்டிற்கும் உயர்வுக்கும் கருவியாய் இருக்கின்றதோ, அவ்வாறே மக்களுடைய யாக்கையின் வளர்ச்சிக்கும் தூய்மைக்கும் நீரும் நீர் நிறைந்த ஆறும் கருவியாய் இருக்கின்றன. ஆற்று நீர் மக்களுக்கு உணவு வளத்தைத் தருகின்றது. அதனால், மக்கள் இன்ப நிலையிலிருந்து இனிய இலக்கியங்களை இயற்றுகின்றார்கள். பசியறியாது வளத்துடனிருக்கும் நாட்டு மக்களே இன்னிசையிலும் கூத்திலும் ஈடுபடுகின்றார்கள். உணவுச் செருக்கினாலேயே கவலையற்றுப் புலவர்கள் நூல் செய்தார்களென்பதைச் சிலப்பதிகார உரைச் சிறப்புப்

பாயிரத்துப் "பொப்பண்ண காங்கேயர் கோனளித்த, சோற்றுச் செருக்கல்லவோ தமிழ் மூன்றுரை சொல்வித்ததே!" என்பதனுலும் அறியலாம். உலக இலக்கியங்களை எண்ணி நோக்கின், வளமுடைய நாட்டைப் பொருளாகக் கொண்டு தோன்றியவையே மிகுதியாய் உள்ளன. மக்கள் ஆற்று வளத்தை இனிமையாகப் பாடி மகிழ்ந்தார்களென் பதைப் பரிபாடலிற்காண்கிறோம்.

உலக வரலாற்றை ஆராயும் போது ஆற்றங்கரைகளிலேயே நாகரிகம் வளர்ச்சியுற்றதென்பதை அறியலாம். ஆற்றங்கரை, மக்கள் வாழ்வுக்குத் துணையாக அமைகின்றது. ஆற்று நீர் உடல் வளத்திற்கும் உணவுப் பெருக்கத்திற்கும் உறுதுணையாக அமைகின்றமையின், மக்கள் மிகுதியாக அப்பகுதியையே நாடுகின்றார்கள். அப்பகுதியில் குடியேறும் மக்கள் பல்வேறு இனத்தவர்களாய் இருப்பது இயற்கையே. அச்சூழ்நிலையில் மக்கள் நாகரிகமும் சிறிது சிறிதாக வளரத் தொடங்குகிறது. அந்நாகரிக வளர்ச்சியோடு கலை வளர்ச்சியும் மொழி வளர்ச்சியும் இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியும் ஏற்படுகின்றன. அவ்வாறு ஆற்றங்கரையில் வளர்ந்த நாகரிகங்களுக்கு நைல் நதிக்கரையில் வளர்ந்த எகிப்திய நாகரிகமும், யூபரட்டிஸ், டைகிரிஸ் கரையில் தோன்றிய மெசபொட்டோமிய நாகரிகமும், சிந்து நதிக் கரையில் சிறப்புற்று விளங்கிய சிந்துவெளி நாகரிகமும் சிறந்த எடுத்துக்காட்டுக்களாம். தமிழ் நாட்டு ஆற்றங்கரைகளில் தோன்றிய நாகரிகங்களில் காவிரியின் கரையில் தோன்றிய நாகரிகம் தலை சிறந்ததாகும்.

இன்பந்தரும் இயற்கைக் காட்சிகள் மலை, கடல், ஆறு முதலியன. ஆதலின், புலவர்கள் சிறந்த இலக்கியங்களைப் படைக்கும் போது இத்தகைய இயற்கைக் காட்சிகளோடு தொடர்பு படுத்திக் கருத்துக்களை இனிய எளிய முறையில் விளக்கினுர்கள்.

வளத்தையும் இன்பத்தையும் பெருக்கி மக்கட்பிறவியின் குறிக்கோளைப் பெறத் துணை செய்வது ஆறு. ஆறு எல்லா நலன்களையும் அடைய வழியாய் உள்ளது. ஆதலின், ஆறு என்னும் சொல்லுக்கே வழி என்னும் பொருள் தோன்றுவதாயிற்று.

*" நல்லாறு எனப்படுவது யாதெனின் யாதொன்றும்
கொல்லாமை சூழும் நெறி."* *(திருக்குறள் - 324)*

*" அறத்தாற்றின் இல்வாழ்க்கை ஆற்றின் புறத்தாற்றின்
போஒய்ப் பெறுவ தெவன்?"* *(திருக்குறள் - 46)*

என்னும் இக்குறள்களில் ஆறு என்பது வழி என்னும் பொருளில் வருதலைக் காண்க.

வையை நதிக்குத் தனியே பரிபாடலில் பாடல் உளது. அது போலக் காவிரிக்குத் தனியாகப் பாடல் இருந்திருக்க லாம் என்று கருதுவது பிழையாகாது. எனினும், இதுகாறும் அத்தகைய பழஞ்செய்யுளகள் நமக்குக் கிடைக்கவில்லை. ஆயினும், சங்க காலத்திலிருந்து இந்நாள் வரை புலவர் பெருமக்களால் காவிரி போற்றப்பட்டு வந்துள்ளது. அவர் களுடைய குறிப்புக்களால் காவிரியாற்றின் அமைப்பும், அழகும், பயனும் பல்லாறுருனும் தெளிவாகின்றன.

சங்க கால நூலாகிய பட்டினப்பாலையில் காவிரி போற் றப்படுகிறது. அதனால், அந்த ஆற்றைப் பொருளாகக் கொண்டு இலக்கியமெழுந்தது புலனாகின்றது. பட்டி னப்பாலையில் காவிரிக்கு மாயத்தன்மை கற்பிக்கப் பட்டுள்ளது.

" வான்பொய்ப்பினும் தான்பொய்யா
மலைத்தலைய கடற்காவிரி
புனல்பரந்து பொன்கொழிக்கும்" *(பட்டினப்பாலை அடி 5-7)*

'நீரைத் தந்து பொன்னை ஆக்கும் ஆற்றலுடையது காவிரி' என அதற்குப் பெருஞ்சிறப்புக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. இது வெறுங்கற்பனையாய் இல்லாமல், காவிரி நீரால் நில வளம் பெருகிச் செந்நெல் விளைந்து நாட்டின் பொருள்நிலை மேம்படுவதையும் காவிரி மணலில் பொற்றுகள் கலந்து தோன்றுவதையும் பாநலம் பெறக் கூறியதேயாகும்.

ஆற்றங்கரையில் வளர்ந்த இலக்கியங்களில் சில செய் யுள்களை அகநானூற்றில் காண்கிறோம். ஆட்டனத்தியும ஆதிமந்தியும் கடலாடிய போது காவிரி ஆட்டனத்தியைக் கவர்ந்து சென்றது. தன் காதலனை இழந்த ஆதிமந்தி தன் கணவனைப் பல இடங்களிலும் தேடி அலமந்தாள். அவ ளுடைய துன்பங்கண்ட காவிரி மனமிரங்கி ஆட்டனத்தியைக்

கரையில் கொண்டு வந்து சேர்த்தது. ஆதிமந்தியின் தோழியாகிய மருதி என்பவள் அவனைக் கொண்டு வந்து காட்டினாள். ஆட்டனத்தியைக் காவிரி இழுத்துச் சென்றதும், ஆதிமந்தி பேதுற்றலமந்ததும், மருதி ஆட்டனத்தியை ஆதிமந்திக்குக் காட்டியதும் அகநானூற்றில் பல பாடல்களில் குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றன.

"ஆட்ட னத்தி நலனயந் துரைஇத்
தாழிருங் கதுப்பின் காவிரி வௌவலின்
மாதிரந் துழைஇ மதிமருண் டடருழந்த
ஆதி மந்தி காதலற் காட்டிப்
படுகடல் புக்க பாடல்சால் சிறப்பின்
மருதி யன்ன மாண்புகழ் பெறீஇயர்." (அகம். 222)

"கச்சினன் கழலினன் தேந்தார் மார்பினன்
வகையமை பொலிந்த வனப்பமை தெரியல்
சுரியலம் பொருநனைக் கண்டி ரோவென
ஆதி மந்தி பேதுற் றினையச்
சிறைபறைந் துரைஇச் செங்குணக் கொழுகும்
அந்தண் காவிரி போலக்
கொண்டுகை வலித்தல் சூழ்ந்திசின் யானே." (அகம். 76)

காவிரிக் கரையில் பிறந்து வாழ்ந்த புலவர்கள் அவ்வாழ்வின் பயனாக இயற்றிய இலக்கியங்களும், காவிரியாற்றினால் உளதாம் பயனை நேரிற்கண்டறிந்த புலவர்கள் அக்காட்சியின் பயனாக இயற்றியனவும் ஆகிய இவ்விருதிற இலக்கியங்களும் தோன்றுதற்கு இடனாயமைந்த வரலாற்று நிகழ்ச்சிகளும் காவிரிக் கரையில் தோன்றிய இலக்கியங்களாகும்.

கோவூர் கிழார், காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினத்துக் காரிக்கண்ணனார், உறையூர் முதுகண்ணன் சாத்தனார் முதலியோர் சோழ நாட்டிலேயே பிறந்து அந்நாட்டைக் குறித்துச் சிறந்த இலக்கியமியற்றினர். இளங்கோவடிகள் சேரநாட்டிற் பிறந்த புலவர். அவர் காவிரியைக் குறித்துப் பாடுகின்றார். இவ்விருதிறத்தாரையவும் காவிரியின் கரையில் தோன்றிய இலக்கியங்களே.

காவிரியாறு பாயும் சோழவள நாட்டில் தோன்றிய புலவர்கள் மனவளஞ் சிறந்திருந்தார்கள். அவர்கள்

நாட்டுக்கும் மொழிக்கும் செய்த தொண்டு பாராட்டத் தகுந்தது.

சோழன் குளமுற்றத்துத்துஞ்சிய கிள்ளி வளவன் பகைமையால் மலையமான் திருமுடிக்காரியின் மக்களை யானைக் காலிலிட்டுக் கொல்லக் கொண்டு வந்து நிறுத்துகின்றான். கோவூர் கிழார் அப்போது அரசன்முன் நிற்கின்றார். சிறுவர்கள் களிற்றினைக் கண்டு அழுதலை மறந்து நிற்கின்றார்கள். புலவர்க்கு உள்ளத்தில் இரக்கம் மிகுகின்றது. "கிள்ளி வளவ, யானொன்று கூறுவேன்; கேட்பாயாக: நீயோ, புறவின் துன்பம் ஒன்றேயன்றி, ஏனையோருடைய துன்பத்தையும் தீர்த்த சோழனுடைய மரபில் வந்தாய். இம்மக்களின் தந்தையோ, கற்றோரது வறுமையைக் கண்டிரங்கித் தன்னிடமுள்ள பொருளைப் பகுத்துக் கொடுக்கும் வள்ளலாவன். முன்பு அஞ்சி அழுத இச்சிறுவர்கள் களிற்றினைக் கண்டு அழுதலை மறந்து இம்மன்றத்தைக் கண்டு வெருவி நிற்கின்றார்கள். அரசர் பெரும, உன்னுடைய மேம்பாட்டையும் இவர்களுடைய தன்மையையும் கூறினேன். இனிமேல் நீ விரும்பியதைச் செய்க," என்றார். அரசன் உளம் நெகிழ்ந்து அம்மக்களை விடுவித்தான்.

இப்புலவர், பிறிதோர் பாட்டில் புலவர்களுடைய வாழ்க்கை இயல்பைத் தெரிவிக்கின்றார். சோழன் நலங்கிள்ளியிடமிருந்து இளந்தத்தரென்னும் புலவர் காரியாற்றுத்துஞ்சிய நெடுங்கிள்ளியிடம் தூது சென்றார். நெடுங்கிள்ளி, புலவரை ஒற்றரென ஐயுற்றுக் கொல்லப் புகுந்தான். கோவூர் கிழார் இடை நின்று தடுத்து, "அரசே, புலவர் வாழ்க்கை எத்தகையதென்பதை எண்ணின் நின் உள்ளம் உருகும். பழுமரத்தை நாடிச் செல்லும் பறவை போலத் தூரத்தைக் கருதாது வள்ளல்களைத் தேடிச்சென்று, தம்முடைய தெளிந்த நாவினாலே செவ்விதாகப் பாடி, கொடுத்ததை மகிழ்வோடேற்றுச் சுற்றத்தாரை உண்பித்து, எஞ்சியதைப் பாதுகாத்து வைக்காது யாவருக்கும் கொடுக்கும் புலவர் வாழ்க்கை பிறருக்குத் தீது கருதியதன்றே! வள்ளல்களிடம் சென்று வருந்திப் பரிசில் பெறும் வாழ்க்கையன்றோ புலவர் வாழ்க்கை!" என்று கூறி, அப்புலவர் சிறிதுங்குற்றமுடையர் அல்லரெனத் தெரிவித்தார். அரசன்

அப்புலவரைக் கொல்லாது விடுத்தான். அவ்வரசனிடத்தி லேயே புலவர் தம் பெருமையினையும் எடுத்தியம்புகின்றார் : "மன்னவ, 'புலவர்களெல்லாம் நம் போன்ற அரசர்களிடம் பரிசில் பெறுபவர்கள்தாமே!' எனக் கருதாதே.

" நண்ணார் நாண அண்ணாந் தேகி
மண்ணாள் செல்வரை நிகர்க்கும்
நும்மோ ரன்ன செம்மலு முடைத்தே."

என்கின்றார்.

அரசர் இருவர் மாறுபட்டவிடத்து அறிவுரை கூறிப் புலவர் போரைத் தடுத்திருக்கின்றனர். எட்டுத்தொகை நூல்களை ஆராயின், அவர்களுடைய பரந்த உள்ளமும் அரசர்க்கு அறிவுரை கூறி நாட்டிற்கு நலன் செய்ததும் அவர்களுடைய கருத்துக்கள் சிறந்த இலக்கியங்களாய் மக்களால் போற்றப்படுவதும் அறியலாம்.

காவிரியின் கரையில் வளர்ந்த இலக்கியங்களுள் பொருநராற்றுப்படையும் ஒன்று. பொருநராற்றுப்படையில் கரிகாற்பெருவளத்தான் எளியாரையும் விரும்பி உபசரிக்கும் தன்மையும், அவன் புலவர்களுக்கு அளிக்கும் பல்வேறு உணவுகளும், பரிசிலருக்குத் தேர், யானை முதலியவற்றைக் கொடுத்தலும், பொருநர் பொற்றாமரை பெறுதலும், விறலியர் பொன்னரிமாலை பெறுதலும் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவ்விலக் கியம் கி. பி. இரண்டாம் நூற்றாண்டுக்கு முன் முடத்தாமக் கண்ணியாரால் இயற்றப்பட்டதாகும்.

கடியலூர் உருத்திரன் கண்ணனார் பட்டினப்பாலையில் காவிரியால் உண்டாய வளத்தைக் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். காவிரி பாய்தலால் செல்வம் செழிக்கின்றது. நெல் வீட்டின் முற்றத்தில் உலர்கின்றது. அதனைத் தின்ன வரும் கோழி களைக் காவலாய் உள்ள பெண்கள் தங்கள் குழைகளை எறிந்து ஓட்டுகின்றார்கள். அக்குழைகள் தெருக்களில் கிடந்து சிறுவர்கள் சிறு தேருருட்டிச் செல்லும் பொழுது தடுக்கின்றன. இவ்வாறு காவிரி பாயும் நிலவளச் செழிப்பு விளக்கப்படுகின்றது.

காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினத்தே ஆடவரும் மகளிரும் கடலாடி. இன்பந்துய்ப்பதும், ஏற்றுமதி இறக்குமதிப் பொருள்களுக்

குப் புலி முத்திரை பொறித்துச் சுங்கம் கொள்ளும் முறையும் நன்கு விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

ஐம்பெருங்காப்பியங்களுள் சிலப்பதிகாரமும் மணிமேகலையும் காவிரியின் கரையில் தோன்றிய இலக்கியங்களாகும்.

கோவலனுடன் மாதவி கடற்கரையிலிருந்த பொழுது பாடிய பாடல்கள் உள்ளத்தை ஈர்ப்பனவாகும். காவிரியாறு செல்லும் கவினுறு தோற்றம் மாதவியினுள்ளத்தில் கவிதையை எழுப்புகின்றது. அவள் காவிரியினழகில் ஈடுபட்டுப் பாடுகின்றாள்.

> " மருங்கு வண்டு சிறந்தார்ப்ப
> மணிப்பூ வாடை யதுபோர்த்துக்
> கருங்க யற்கண் விழித்தொல்கி
> நடந்தாய் வாழி காவேரி !
> கருங்க யற்கண் விழித்தொல்கி
> நடந்த வெல்லாம் நின்கணவன்
> திருந்து செங்கோல் வளையாமை
> அறிந்தேன் வாழி காவேரி !"
>
> (சிலம்பு, கானல் வரி, 25)

இந்திரவிழவூரெடுத்த காதையில் இந்திரனை நீராட்டுவதற்குக காவிரியின் நன்னீரைக் கொண்டு வருகின்றனர். அதனை இளங்கோவடிகள்,

> ' தண்ணறுங் காவிரித் தாதுமலி பெருந்துறைப்
> புண்ணிய நன்னீர் பொற்குடத்து ஏந்தி "
>
> (சிலம்பு இந்திரவிழவூரெடுத்த காதை, 145-46)

எனக் கூறிக் காவிரி நன்னீரின் தெய்வத்தன்மையைப் புலப்படுத்துகின்றார்.

காவிரி நாடுடைமைபற்றிச் சோழன் **காவிரி நாடன்** எனப் போற்றப்படுகின்றான்.

> " ஞாயிறு போற்றுதும் ஞாயிறு போற்றுதும்
> **காவிரி நாடன்** திகிரிபோல் பொற்கோட்டு
> மேரு வலந்திரித லான்."
>
> (சிலம்பு, மங்கல வாழ்த்துப் பாடல், 4)

இங்குச் சோழனைக் காவிரி நாடன் எனக் கூறுவதன் மூலம் புலவர் காவிரியின் சிறப்பைப் புலப்படுத்துகின்றார். அவர்

வேளாளரைக் குறிப்பிடும் போது

" பரப்புநீர்க் காவிரிப் பாவைதன் புதல்வர் "

(சிலம்பு, நாடுகாண் காதை, அடி 148)

எனக் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார்; காவிரியைக் குறிப்பிடும் போது காவிரிக்குத் தெய்வத்தன்மையைக் கற்பிக்கின்றார்.

" தெய்வக் காவிரித் தீதுதீர் சிறப்பும் "

(நாடுகாண்காதை, கட்டுரை, அடி, 8)

என்னும் அடியினைக் காண்க. காவிரி பாயும் நாட்டின் நில வளத்தைக் குறிப்பிடும் போது,

" தாங்கா விளையுள் காவிரி நாடு "

(சிலம்பு, கடலாடுகாதை, அடி 30, 31)

என்று சிறப்பித்துரைக்கின்றார்.

இராச ரிஷியும் யோகிகளுட்சிறந்தவருமாகிய கவேர ரென்பவர் முத்திபெறுதலை விரும்பிப் பிரமதேவரைக் குறித்து அரிய தவம் செய்து அவர் அருளால் விஷ்ணு மாயையைத் தம் மகளாக அடைந்து முத்தி பெற்றனரென்றும், பின்பு அக்கன்னி பிரமதேவர் கட்டளையின்படி நதி வடிவுகொண்டு சென்றமையால் அந்நதி கவேர கன்னி என்றும், காவேரி என்றும் பெயர் பெற்றதென்றும் ஆக்கிநேய புராணத்தில் காவிரி மகாத்துமியத்தில் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளன. இப்புராணம் வடநூல்.

அக்கால மக்கள் குமரியில் நீராடுவது புண்ணியமாகக் கருதியது போலக் காவிரியில் நீராடுவதையும் புண்ணிய மாகக் கருதினர்கள்.

" குரங்கு செய்கடல் குமரியம் பெருந்துறைப்
பரந்துசெல் மாக்களொடு தேடினன் பெயர்வோன்
கடல்மண்டு பெருந்துறைக் காவிரி யாடிய
வடமொழி யாளரொடு வருவோன் "

(மணிமேகலை, 5 : 37-40)

என்பதனாலும்,

" கங்கை யாடிலென் காவிரி யாடிலென்
கொங்கு தண்குமரித்துறை யாடிலென்
ஒங்கு மாகடல் ஓதநீ ராடிலென்
எங்கும் ஈசனென் னாதவர்க் கில்லையே."

(அப்பர் தேவாரம், 6225)

என்பதனுலும் காவிரியில் நீராடுதல் புண்ணியமாகக் கருதப் பட்டதென்பது விளங்குகின்றது.

காந்தமன் என்னும் சோழன் அகத்தியரை வேண்டிக் கொள்ள, அவர் தமது குண்டிகையைக் கவிழ்த்ததாகவும், அதுவே காவிரியாகப் பெருகிற்றென்றும் மணிமேகலையில் கூறப்படுகின்றது.

" கஞ்ச வேட்கையிற் காந்தமன் வேண்ட
அமர முனிவன் அகத்தியன் தனது
கரகங் கவிழ்த்த காவிரிப் பாவை "
(மணிமேகலை, பதிகம், 10-13)

காவிரியைத் தெய்வத் தன்மை உடையதாகமணிமேகலை காட்டுகின்றது.

காவிரியின் நன்னீர் செல்வ வளம் பெருக்குதலும் அதனுல் மக்கள் மனநலம் பெறுதலும் ஆண்டவனிடத்தில் ஈடுபாடு கொள்ளுதலும் தேவாரத்தில் குறிக்கப்படுகின்றன.

" முத்திசையும் புனற்பொன்னி மொய்பவளங் கொழித்துந்தப்
பத்தர்பலர் நீர்மூழ்கிப் பலகாலும் பணிந்தேத்த
எத்திசையும் வானவர்கள் எம்பெருமா னெனஇறைஞ்சும்
அத்திசையாம் ஐயாறர்க் காளாய்நான் உய்ந்தேனே!"
(அப்பர், நான்காம் திருமுறை, 4290)

" களித்துக் கலந்ததொர் காதற் கசிவொடு காவிரிவாய்க்
குளித்துத் தொழுதுமுன் நின்றஇப் பத்தரைக் கோதில் செந்தேன்
தெளித்துச் சுவையமு தூட்டி அமரர்கள் சூழிருப்ப
அளித்துப் பெருஞ்செல்வ மாக்கும்ஐ யாறன் அடித்தலமே."
(அப்பர், நான்காம் திருமுறை, 5047)

திருஞானசம்பந்தர் காவிரி பாயும் நாட்டின் வளத்தை அழகுறக் கூறியுள்ளார். திருத்தக்கதேவரும் சோழநாட்டில் பிறந்தபடியால் திருஞானசம்பந்தரைப் போலவே காவிரி நாட்டின் வளத்தைக் குறிப்பிடுகின்ருர்.

" கோழைமிட றுக்ககவி கோளுமில வாகஇசை கூடும்வகையால்
ஏழையடி யாரவர்கள் யாவைசொன சொல்மகிழும் ஈசனிடமாம்
தாழையிள நீர்முதிய காய்கமுகின் வீழநிரை தாறு சிதறி
வாழைஉதிர் வீழ்கனிகள் ஊறிவயல் சேறுசெயும் வைகாவிலே."
(சம்பந்தர் தேவாரம், 3559)

" காய்மாண்ட தெங்கின் பழம்விழக் கமுகின் நெற்றிப்
பூமாண்ட தீந்தேன் தொடைகீறி வருக்கை போழ்ந்து
தேமாங் கனிசிதறி வாழைப் பழங்கள் சிந்தும்
ஏமாங் கதமென் றிசையாற் றிசைபோய துண்டே."

(சிந்தாமணி, நாமகளிலம்பகம், 31)

தென்னையிலிருந்து இளநீர் கமுகின்மீது வீழ அதன் தாறுகள் சிதறி வாழைக்கனிகள் மீது வீழ்ந்து சாறு வயலில் வழிந்தோடியதாகத் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். இக்கருத்தினையே பத்தாம் நூற்றாண்டில் விளங்கிய திருத் தக்க தேவரும் மேலும் சிறிது விரிவுபடுத்திக் கூறியுள்ள தையும் கண்டோம்.

மக்கள் உள்ளத்தைக் காவிரி கவர்ந்த நிலை, பிறமொழி இலக்கியங்களாலும் கல்வெட்டுக்களாலுங்கூட அறியக் கிடக்கின்றது.

காவிரியின் இயற்கை எழிலையும் தெய்விகத் தோற்றத் தையும் கண்ட பல்லவப் பேரரசனின் புலவர் காவிரிக்கரை வரை பல்லவரது பேரரசு பரந்துள்ளது எனப் புகழ வேண்டிய இடத்தில் பின்வருமாறு அழகாகக் கூறியிருப்பது நாம் கருதத்தக்கது:

" நதிப் பிரியனுன தேவன் நயனுபிராமமான நீரையும், தோட்டங்களென்னும் மாலைகளையும் பிரிய குணங்களையும் உடைத்தான காவிரி நதியைக் கண்டு அவள்மேல் காதல் கொள்வானென்று பர்வதராஜனது பெண் ஐயமுற்றுப் பிறந்த வீட்டை விட்டுச் சிராப்பள்ளி மலைமேல் நின்று கொண்டு, 'இந்நதி பல்லவனது' என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டே இருக்கின்றாள்."

இங்குக் "கங்கையிற் புனிதமாய காவிரி" என்னும் ஆன்றோர் வாக்கின் பொருளைக் கங்கையோடு உடன் பிறப் புரிமையுள்ள மலையரசன் மகளே கூறுவதாகப் புனைந் துள்ளது பெரிதும் ஏற்றந்தருவதொன்றாகும்.

காவிரித் தொடர்புடைய திருச்சிராமலை இமயத்தினும் இனிதாகத் தோற்றமளிக்கின்றது.

ஆழ்வார்கள் பாடல்களிலும் சிலப்பதிகாரத்திலும் காவிரி யின் சிறப்பும் அக்காவிரியின் ஆற்றிடைக் குறையில் பரந்

தாமன் பள்ளி கொண்டிருப்பதும் பத்திச் சுவை ததும்பப் பாடப்பட்டுள்ளன.

''இருளிரியச் சுடர்மணிக ளிமைக்கும் நெற்றி
இனத்துத்தி அணிபணமா யிரங்க ளார்ந்த
அரவரசப் பெருஞ்சோதி அனந்த னென்னும்
அணிவிளங்கும் உயர்வெள்ளை அணையை மேவித்
திருவரங்கப் பெருநகருள் தெண்ணீர்ப் பொன்னி
திரைக்கையால் அடிவருடப் பள்ளி கொள்ளும்
கருமணியைக் கோமளத்தைக் கண்டு கொண்டென்
கண்ணிணைகள் என்றுகொலோ களிக்கும் நாளே!''

(பெருமாள் திருமொழி, 1)

'' கங்கையிற் புனித மாய காவிரி நடுவு பாட்டுப்
பொங்குநீர் பரந்து பாயும் பூம்பொழி லரங்கந் தன்னுள்''

(திருமாலை-23).

''நீல மேகம் நெடும்பொற் குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந் தகலாது படிந்தது போல
ஆயிரம் விரித்தெழு தலையுடை அருந்திறல்
பாயற் பள்ளிப் பலர்தொழு தேத்த
விரிதிரைக் காவிரி வியன்பெருந் துருத்தித்
திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும் ''

(சிலம்பு. காடுகாண் காதை, 35—40)

கடவுள் வழிபாட்டோடு ஒத்த நிலையில் வான் சிறப்பைப் பாடி வழிபட்ட வள்ளுவர்,

'' வானின் றுலகம் வழங்கி வருதலான்
தானமிழ்தம் என்றுணரற் பாற்று ''

என்று பாடினர்.

இளங்கோவடிகளோ, அவ்வான் மழையாகப் பொழியும் பெருங்கருணையை நினைந்து,

'' மாமழை போற்றுதும் மாமழை போற்றுதும்
நாமநீர் வேலி உலகிற் கவன்குலத்தோ
டோங்கிப் பரந்தொழுக லான்.''

(மங்கல வாழ்த்துப் பாடல் : 7—9)

என வாழ்த்தினர்.

கம்ப நாடரோ, மழையாகப் பொழிந்து வேண்டுவோர்க் கெல்லாம் தானகவே சென்று வளம் பெருக்கும் ஆற்றின் சிறப்பை,

" தாதுகு சோலை தோறும் சண்பகக் காவு தோறும்
போதவிழ் பொய்கை தோறும் புதுமணல் தடங்கள் தோறும்
மாதவி வேலிப் பூக வனந்தொறும் வயல்கள் தோறும்
ஓதிய உடம்பு தோறும் உயிரென உலாய தன்றே."

(கம்பராமாயணம், ஆற்றுப் படலம், 20)

எனப் பரவிப் பணிவாராயினர்.

வள்ளுவர் பொதுமறை செய்தாராதலின், பொதுமறைக் கேற்ப வானெனக் கூறினர். இளங்கோவடிகளோ, அவ்வான் மழையாகப் பெய்வதை மகிழ்ந்து வணங்கினர். கம்பரோ, வான் நின்று இழிந்த மழை பல கால் வழியாக நாட்டை வளப்படுத்தச் செய்யும் காவிரியாற்றைக் கண்டு மகிழ்ந்து ஆறு என்ற நிலையில் அடி பணிவாராயினர். இக்கருத்து வளர்ச்சியும் கருதத்தக்கது.

காவிரி பொன் துகள் நிரம்பியிருத்தலின், பொன்னி என்று வழங்கப்படுவதாயிற்று.

காவிரியின் சிறப்பு, பொய்யா மொழியார் பாதி பாட, ஔவையார் பாதி பாடிய வெண்பா ஒன்றிலும் புலப்படு கின்றது:

" தண்ணீருங் காவிரியே தார்வேந்தன் சோழனே
மண்ணாவ துஞ்சோழ மண்டலமே—பெண்ணாவாள்
அம்பர்ச் சிலம்பி அரவிந்தத் தாளணியும்
செம்பொற் சிலம்பே சிலம்பு."

(பெருந்தொகை, 1454)

கண்டி நாடு அஞ்சம் பட்ட காலத்துக் கப்பல் ஆயிரத்தில் நெல்லனுப்பிப் புதுவைச் சடையன் காத்தான். அதனைப் பாராட்டி ஈழ நாட்டரசனான பரராசசிங்கன் பாடிய பாடல் காவிரி பாயும் நாட்டின் வளத்தையும் அந்நாட்டு மக்களின் வள்ளற்றன்மையையும் காட்டுகின்றது:

" இரவு நண்பக லாகிலென்பகல்
இருள றாவிர வாகிலென்
இரவி எண்டிசை மாறிலென்கட
லேழும் ஏறிலென் வற்றிலென்
மரபு தங்கிய முறைமை பேணிய
மன்னர் போகிலென் ஆகிலென்
வளமை யின்புறு சோழ மண்டல
வாழ்க்கை காரண மாகவே

கருது செம்பொனின் அம்ப லத்திலோர்
கடவுள் நின்று நடிக்குமே;
காவி ரித்திரு நதியி லேஒரு
கருணை மாமுகில் துயில்கூருமே ;
தருஉ யர்ந்திடு புதுவை யம்பதி
தங்கு மானிய சேகரன்
சங்க ரன்தரு சடைய னென்றொரு
தரும தேவதை வாழவே?" (பெருந்தொகை. 1135)

காவிரியாறு இல்லாவிட்டால், சோழவள நாடு வளர்ந்து சிறந்திருக்க முடியாது; பஞ்சம் பட்ட காலத்துக் கண்டி நாட்டுக்கு உதவி செய்திருக்கவும் முடியாது; அக்குழ்நிலையில் காவிரியாற்றின் பெருமை பேசும் இப்பாடலும் தோன்றி யிருக்க முடியாது. இவ்வாறு சிறந்த பாடல்களும் இலக்கியங் களும் தோன்றுவதற்குக் காவிரியின் சிறப்பே காரணமாய் அமைகின்றது.

கம்பராமாயணம் வடமொழிக் கதையை அடிப்படை யாகக் கொண்டிருந்தாலும், கம்பர் காவிரி நாட்டில் வாழ்ந்தவ ராதலின், கோசல நாட்டைக் குறிப்பிடும் போதெல்லாம் காவிரி நாட்டையே உவமையாகக் கூறுகின்றார். "உயர்ந்த தன்மேற்றே உள்ளுங்காலை," என்பது விதியாதலின், உவமையாக எடுத்தாளும் பொருள் உயர்ந்ததாக இருக்க வேண்டும். ஆகவே, கம்பர், கோசல நாட்டினும் காவிரி உயர்ந்ததெனக் கருதியே, "காவிரி நாடன்ன கழனி நாடொரீஇ" (அயோத்தியா காண்டம், குகப்படலம், 1) எனக் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். ஆரணிய காண்டத்தில்,

"கன்னியிளை வாழைகனி யீவகதிர் வாலின்
செந்நெலுள தேனொழுகு போதுமுள தெய்வப்
பொன்னியென லாயபுன லாறுமுள போதா
அன்னமுள பொன்னிவளொ டன்பின்விளை யாட"
(பாடல், 58)

எனக் காவிரியைத் 'தெய்வப் பொன்னி' எனக் கூறிய பேரரசும் பெருநாடும் ஒருங்கே பிரிந்து வாழும் பிராட்டி யாரது திருவுள்ளத்தை மகிழச் செய்தற்குரிய பொருள்களில் ஒரு புனலைக் கூறுகின்றார்.

அப்புனல்தானும் தெய்வத் தன்மை வாய்ந்த பொன்னி போன்றது எனக் கூறும் போது காவிரியைப் பற்றி அவர்

கருத்துள் பொதிந்து துதைந்த ஏற்ற உணர்ச்சி எளிது புலனாகின்றது.

இத்தகைய ஈடுபாட்டாலன்றோ கம்பர் கட்டுக்கடங்காத காவிரியை,

" கன்னி யழிந்தனள் கங்கை திறம்பினள்
பொன்னி கரையழிந்து போயினளென — றிந்நீர்
உரைகிடக்க லாமோ உலகுடைய தாயே!
கரைகடக்க லாகாது காண்."

(பெருந்தொகை, 2155)

என வாழ்த்தி வணங்கி அதன் சீற்றத்தைத் தவிர்த்தார்.

கம்பர் 'உலகம் புகழும் காவிரி' எனக் கூற, அருணகிரி நாதரோ, 'ஏழுலகமும் புகழ் காவேரி' எனப்பாடி ஏற்ற மளிக்கின்றார். அவர் மலையைப் பற்றிப் பாடும் போதும் கோயிலைப் பற்றிப் பாடும் போதும் அவருடைய உள்ளம் காவிரியின் வளத்திலேயே ஈடுபடுகின்றது.

பத்தொன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டில் எழுந்த இலக்கியங் களில் மகாவித்துவான் மீனாட்சிசுந்தரம் பிள்ளையவர்கள் இயற்றிய நூல்கள் குறிப்பிடத் தக்கனவாகும். அவர் இயற்றிய திருக்குடந்தைப் புராணம், மாயூரப் புராணம் ஆகிய வற்றில் காவிரியைப் பற்றிய குறிப்புக்கள் பெரிதும் இடம் பெறுகின்றன.

இருபதாம் நூற்றாண்டில் விளங்கிய ஐ. சாமிநாத முதலியார் என்பவர் காவிரியின் சிறப்புக்களைத் தெரிவிக்கும் 'காவிரி வெண்பா' என்னும் நூலை இயற்றியுள்ளார்.

திருவாவடுதுறை ஆதீனத்திலிருந்து தமிழிலக்கியங்கள் பல இயற்றியவர், வடநூற்கடலையும் தென்னூற்கடலையும் நிலை கண்டுணர்ந்த மாதவச் சிவஞானயோகியாராவர். அவர்க் குப்பின் அம்மடாலயத்திலிருந்து தமிழ் வளர்த்தவர்களுள் தலையாய பெரும்புலவர் மகாவித்துவான் மீனாட்சிசுந்தரம் பிள்ளையாவர். அவருடைய மாணவராகிய வேதநாயகம் பிள்ளையவர்களின் தமிழ்த்தொண்டும் பாராட்டற்குரியது.

மேற்கூறியனவேயன்றி, திருக்கோயில்களிலுள்ள கல் வெட்டுக்களும் சிற்பங்களும் காவிரியின் கரையில் தோன் றிய எழுதா இலக்கியங்களாய் மிளிர்கின்றன.

பட்டினப்பாலையில் காவிரி பற்றிய சுருங்கிய வருணனையும் காவிரியின் வளத்தால் மக்கள் வாழ்வு வளம் பெற்ற முறையும், அரசியலமைப்பும், பொருளாதார வளர்ச்சியும் மக்கள் நாகரிகமும் புனைந்துரையில்லாமல் காட்டப்படுகின்றன.

காவிரியின் கரையில் தோன்றிய சங்ககால இலக்கியங்கள், நடந்த நிகழ்ச்சிகளை எளிய முறையில் புனைந்துரை அளவு கடவாமல் புதிய முறையில் படிப்போர் மகிழும் வண்ணம் நாடகக் காட்சிகளைப் போலக் கூறுகின்றன. பட்டினப்பாலையில் ஆசிரியரே படிப்போருக்குப் பல கருத்துக்களை அறிவிக்கின்றார். ஆனால், அகநானூற்றிலும் புறநானூற்றிலும் ஆசிரியருடைய கருத்துக்கள் பிறர் மூலமாகப் பேசப்படுகின்றன. காவிரியைப் பற்றிச் சொல்லும்போது பல வரலாறுகள் குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றன. இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியில் இது ஒரு முன்னேற்றமாகும்.

இதற்குப்பின் தோன்றிய சிலப்பதிகாரம், மணிமேகலை ஆகிய இரண்டும் மக்கள வாழ்க்கையைப் பொருளாகக் கொண்டு பட்டினப்பாலை போலக் கருத்துக்களை நேரடியாகக் கூறாமல், நாடக மக்கள் மூலம் சுவைபட அறிவிக்கின்றன. இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியில் இது மிகப்பெரிய முன்னேற்றமாகும். சிலப்பதிகாரம் காப்பியத்திற்குரிய பண்புகள் அனைத்தும் நிரம்பி விளங்குகிறது. எல்லாச் சமயத்தின் கொள்கைகளையும் கூறுவதால், எல்லாச் சமயத்தவரும் விரும்பிப் படிக்கும்படி அமைந்துள்ளது சுவை குன்றாமல் இருக்கும் பொருட்டு இடையிடையே பல கதைகள் அமைந்துள்ளன.

மணிமேகலையில் சமயப்பூசல்கள் இடம் பெறுகின்றன. இது காலத்தின் மாற்றத்தையும் அதனால் மக்கள் உள்ளம் மாறுபடுவதையும் காட்டுகிறது. சிலப்பதிகாரம் எல்லாச் சமயங்களையும் ஏற்றத்தாழ்வின்றிக் கூறிச செல்கின்றது. மணிமேகலையோ, புத்த மதத்திற்கே உயர்வு காட்டிச் செல்கின்றது. இது சீத்தலைச்சாத்தனாரின் மதப்பற்றைக் காட்டுகின்றது.

தேவாரமும் திவ்வியப்பிரபந்தமும், மக்கள் வாழ்க்கை பற்றிக் கூறாமல், இறைவன் மீது பத்தி கொண்டு பாடிய

பாடல்களாய்த் திகழ்கின்றன. சங்ககாலத்தில் சமயப் பொதுநோக்கு நிலவிற்று. பல்வேறு சமயங்களைப் பற்றிக் கூறினும், எலலாச் சமயங்களும் ஏற்றத் தாழ்வின்றி ஒரு தன்மையனவாகவே கருதப்பட்டன. ஆனால், தேவாரமும் திவ்வியப் பிரபந்தமும் தோன்றிய காலத்தில் சமயப் பொது நோக்கொழிந்து சமணம் பௌத்தம் ஆகியவற்றைத் தாழ்த்திக் கூறும் நிலை வளர்ந்தது. சைவர்களும் வைணவர்களுங் கூடத் தங்களுள் மாறுபடும்படியான சூழ்நிலை உருவாயிற்று. சைவர் வைணவரைத் தாழ்த்தியும், வைணவர் சைவரைத் தாழ்த்தியும் பாடும் நிலை வளர்ந்தது. தொடக்கத்திலெழுந்த ஆழ்வார் பாடல்கள் சைவத்தையும் வைணவத்தையும் ஒத்த தன்மையிலேயே வைத்துக் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன. பின்னர் எழுந்த பாடல்கள் சைவத்தைத் தாழ்த்தி வைணவத்தை உயர்த்திக் கூறுகின்றன. அத்தகைய பாடல்களைத் திருவாய்மொழியிலும் காணலாம். சங்ககாலத்திலிருந்த சமரச மனப்பான்மை மாய்ந்து, சமயங்களுள் உயர்வு தாழ்வு கூறும் மனப்பான்மை தேவார திவ்வியப்பிரபந்த காலத்தில் தோன்றியது. அந்நூல்களின் சிறந்த நோக்கம் மக்களைப் பத்தி நெறியில் செலுத்தி ஆண்டவனிடம் ஈடுபட வைப்பதே யாகும். ஆகவே, அவையெல்லாம் தோத்திரப்பாடல்களாகவே அமைந்துள்ளன. இதனை இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியில் வேறு துறையில் திரும்பிய முன்னேற்றமென்று கூறலாம்.

கம்பராமாயணமும் பெரியபுராணமும் பத்தி நெறியை அறிவுறுத்துவனவாயினும், தேவாரம் போலத் தோத்திரப் பாடல்களாக மட்டும் அல்லாமல், கதை மூலமாகப் பத்தி நெறியை வளர்க்கும் பாடல்களாகவும் அமைந்துள்ளன. இவையும் பத்தி இலக்கியமாயினும், கதையமைப்போடு சுவையாகச் செல்கின்றபடியால், தேவார திவ்வியப்பிரபந்த இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியைவிட ஒரு படி சிறந்தனவெனத் துணிந்து கூறலாம்.

வடமொழி நூலை முதலாகக் கொண்டு தமிழில் சிறந்த பெருங்காப்பியமியற்றிய கம்பர், வழிநூல் செய்து இலக்கியம் வளர்க்கும் துறையில் வழி காட்டியாய் விளங்குகிறார். கதையும் கருத்தும் கடன்வாங்கினாலும் தமிழுக்கென்று ஒரு தனித் தன்மை உண்டு என்பதை மனத்தில் எண்ணித் தனித்

தமிழ்க் காப்பியமாகவே செய்த கம்பர், மொழி பெயர்த்து நூல் யாப்பார்க்கு முன்னின்று வழி காட்டுகின்றார்.

சேக்கிழார் தமிழ் நாட்டில் தோன்றி வளர்ச்சியுடைகள் வரலாற்றையே பொருளாகக் கொண்டு தமிழ் நாட்டுக் கல் வெட்டுக்களை ஆதாரமாக நிறுத்தித் தமிழக வரலாற்றுக்குத் தக்க சான்று தருவதாக முதன்முதல் புராணம் இயற்றிய பெரியாராவர். புராணங்களுள் சேக்கிழார் இயற்றிய பெரிய புராணமே, புராணம் இயற்றுவார்க்கு வழி காட்டியாய்ப் புராணங்களுள் தலை சிறந்ததாய் விளங்குகிறது. கம்பராமா யணம் வைணவ நெறியைத் தழுவியதாய் இருக்க, பெரிய புராணமோ, சைவ நெறியை வலியுறுத்திச் செல்கின்றது. கம்பராமாயணம் எழுந்த காலத்தில் வைணவமும் பெரிய புராணம் எழுந்த காலத்தில் சைவமும் செல்வாக்குப் பெற்றி ருந்தன என்றறியலாம்.

தேவாரம் திவ்வியப்பிரபந்தம் ஆகியவற்றின் இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியைக் கம்பராமாயணம் பெரியபுராணம் ஆகிய வற்றின் இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியோடு ஒப்பிட்டு நோக்கின், பின்னவை கதையமைப்போடு பத்தி நெறியினை வலியுறுத்து கின்றமையின், முன்னவையினும் பரந்த தன்மையில் ஒரு படி முன்னேறின எனவே கருதலாம்.

தமிழில் மிகுதியாக வடசொற்களைக் கலந்து அருணகிரி நாதர் திருப்புகழை இயற்றினார். இதனை இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சி யாகக் கருதுவதற்கில்லை. எவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு வடசொற் களைக் கலக்கின்றோமோ, அவ்வளவுக்கவ்வளவு தனித்தமிழ்ச் சொற்கள் வழக்கொழிகின்றன. அதனால், தனித்தமிழ்ச்சொற் கள் மறைந்து, வடசொற்களே மக்கள் மனத்தில் இடம்பெறு கின்றன. பிற மொழிச் சொற்களை மிகுதியாகத் தமிழிற் கலந்தமையான் அருணகிரி நாதர் காலத்தில் இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சி குன்றியதாகவே கருதப்படும். ஆனால், சந்த அமைப்புப் பாடல்களைத் தோற்றுவித்தவர்களுள் அருணகிரி நாதர் சிறப்பாகக் குறிப்பிடத் தக்கவராவர்.

மிகுதியான தலபுராணங்கள் எழுந்த காலம் பத்தொன் பதாம் நூற்றாண்டேயாகும். பெரிய புராணத்தை அடிப் படையாக வைத்துக்கொண்டு தலங்களுக்குப் புராணங்கள்

பாடினுர்களேயொழிய, புதிய முறையில் இலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியில் ஈடுபடவில்லை. ஆகவே, பெரியபுராணம், கம்பராமாயணம் போன்ற சிறந்த நூல்களும் இந்நூற்ருண்டில் எழவில்லை. சங்கநூற்பயிற்சி குறைந்தமையின் இத்தகைய தலபுராணங்கள் எழுவனவாயின. புதிய இலக்கியத் தோற்றத்திற்கு வழியில்லாமற் போய்விட்டது.

இருபதாம் நூற்ருண்டில் தனித்தமிழியக்கமும் சங்க இலக்கிய மறுமலர்ச்சியும் புத்துயிர் பெற்றுக் காவிரியின் கரையில் எழுவனவாயின. ஆதலின், சங்க இலக்கியங்களைப் போற்றுதலும், தனித்தமிழ் நடையில் சிறுகதைகள், நாவல்கள், நாடகங்கள், கவிதைகள், கட்டுரைகள் எழுதுதலும் இந்நூற்ருண்டில் காணப்படும் இலக்கிய மறுமலர்ச்சியாகும்.

காவிரியின் கரை கண்ட இலக்கியங்கள் எத்துணையோ! அவ்வளவும் நாம் காணும் பேறு பெற்ருேமில்லை. காலத்தின் கோலத்தால் அழிந்துபட்டனவும் சில இருக்கலாம். அவற்றை ஈடு செய்வது போலப் புதிய இலக்கியங்களைப் படைத்துத் தமிழ் மொழிக்குத் தகை சான்ற தொண்டு ஆற்றுவோமாக!

The Story of Kovalan[1]

CEYLON TAMIL VERSION

Translated by HUGH NEVILLE

[The story of Kannaki and Kovalan has appeared in different language versions in Southern India and Ceylon. The following Tamil version prevalent in the Eastern Province of Ceylon is taken from *The Taprobanian* (1887), a periodical published in the last century by Hugh Neville of the Ceylon Service, to promote Dravidian Studies. - Editor.]

This is the name of a very long ballad or group of ballads which recite, in Tamil, the story of Kannakai and Kovalan. Kannakai was the daughter of the Pandian king and a virgin incarnation of *Kali.* There is a prose version of the poem or saga, much read by Tamils of Ceylon and Madura, and the poem is recited at the ancient and prehistoric temple of Kannakai, near Mulativu, as well as at her later temple at Karativu, near Batticaloa. A Sinhalese version of it also exists, called the *Pattini haela* in which she is treated as an avatar of Parvati or Pattini, rather than of Kali. The worship of this goddess seems to have been that of the first Pandians, and to have been stopped arbitrarily by their kings shortly before the epoch of Kovalan and his bride, since deified. In Ceylon it was especially affected by the Tamils, the Karears and the Mukkuvars; the Vellalans merely tolerated or accepted the Kannakai worship, after its chief doctrines had already been mythicised by them

1. The Tamil spelling is Kōvalan ; I have not thought it necessary to mark this in the text throughout.

into their own goddesses, Amman and Mari Amman, who jointly fill up the place of Kannakai. The goddess herself is probably Venus Urania of the West, but we here deal only with the events of one supposed incarnation.

The reader will do well to remember that the great feature of these anthropomorphic myths, is their historical reality. As a rule each event is correctly given, when denuded of the usual extravagance of expression, and the deification was accorded because the human life seemed to prove a divine pre-existence in harmony with it. The human life was not a fiction made to harmonise with a divine pre-existence, for the multitude of such incarnations or deifications rendered the invention of a new one quite superfluous.

Kovalan is in Sinhalese called Palava Guru, and the facts really seem briefly to have been these:

The King of Pandi discarded a daughter at her birth from superstitious motives.

The child was rescued and adopted by a wealthy and powerful Palava or Setti, noble of the Vaisya caste, living on the coast, and owning a large trading fleet.

She was betrothed to his grandson, a very wealthy Palava noble, who lived a life of debauchery at Tirukadur.

Notwithstanding her great beauty. vast wealth and illustrious birth, the Palava debauchee, to the wonder of his countrymen, refused to complete his marriage, and remained under the absolute and exclusive control of a nautch girl.

Subsequently he was suspected of an intrigue with the Pandian queen, and executed at Madura.

His neglected wife, then avenged his death, burning Madura, and taking a terrible revenge upon the Pandian king, her own unnatural father.

The public mind seems to have been greatly impressed by this romantic and tragic history, and to have traced its origin to the Pandian king's stern suppression of Kali worship at Madura. The next step was to the local mind scarcely even a step, and the author of the king's punishment was at once identified as a human incarnation of the goddess, whose worship had been suppressed.

It then became necessary to explain the conduct of Kovalan, which seemed at first sight a cruel slight to the incarnate goddess.

In after years, Palava influences possibly led to his being further honoured, that the worship of the goddess might be tolerated by the powerful dynasty of his race. At the same time popular condemnation of child marriage was insidiously encouraged, by the extreme prominence given to the fact, that all troubles happened, owing to Kovalan's marriage with an infant.

Whether Kovalan or Kopalan was himself a king of the Palas or Palavas, shall be considered again, in another article, when further materials are before the reader. It will be well to bear in mind, however, that as Kopalan, or as Palava Guru, his title may be really the King Pala, or Pala King. His name in Tamil is written Kovalan.

The epithet Setti is possibly a modern addition to the family name of Kovalan, and due to the fact that in later times the great Vaisya merchants, owners of ships, were of Setti caste. In any case it denotes a

Vaisya merchant, and not the Setti caste of to-day, in which the name has a quite restricted sense.

I will now give a resume of the story, and then append such notes as seem desirable to clear up, or emphasize, important points in the history.

Invocation :

This invokes the aid of Munthu Vinayakar, the son of Mukkanavar, of Arumukavalar, son-in-law of Atchuttan, of Pokkasar Minatchi, who lives in the flower groves of Madura, of Adi-narayanan, who sleeps upon the fig-leaf, and of Saraswati, the wife of Maraiyavanar. These gods and goddesses are called upon to aid the author sing the traditions of Kovalan.

Introduction :

In ancient times, long ago, there were two brothers-in-law, Manakan Setti, and Masottan setti, who owned great fleets. Their ships numbered 400,000, in which they carried gold, rice, pepper and other merchandise, thereby amassing vast treasure. They themselves lived in Madura, with great wealth and luxury. Manakan Setti had a son, named Mutu Setti, who was unhappily childless. He therefore, performed severe penance in honour of Sokkalingam, and planted flower groves along the banks of the river and near the tank, all of which he dedicated to the god. At times the celestial cow Kama-denu, so great was his meritorious devotion, would descend from Kayilasam by a ladder of ropes, and graze near the tank in the meadows scattered among the groves planted there. She would graze there, quench her thirst at the lotus tank, and praising Mutu Setti for his devotion, she would return to heaven. He however, knew nothing of this.

It happened one day that her calf came with her, descending the ladder from Kayilasam, and drank water with its mother. As they were ascending together, up the ladder, Mutu Setti saw them, and thinking some of the cattle from the folds had broken in and damaged his young plantations, he slung a stone at the retreating cow and calf. Alas! the stone struck the calf and ended its life.

The celestial cow curses Mutu Setti:

The celestial cow Kama-denu, seeing her calf killed, turned and cursed the man who thus bereaved her. She said, "As you have killed my child in its sixteenth year, so may your son die too in his sixteenth year." Uttering this terrible curse the cow disappeared into Kayilasam.

Mutu Setti deeply grieved, renewed with even greater insistance, his austerities and prayers, until at length the god Sokkalingam promised that he would have a son.

Maniarasan's son makes a vow to Kali:

In those days there lived at Madura a certain oil merchant, named Maniarasan, who had two wives. By the first wife he was blessed with three children, and by the second wife with one. Being about to die, he called his children to his death-bed, and divided the property between them, giving one half to the children of the first wife, and one half to the child of the second wife.

Now the son of the second wife began to trade in oil, but though he went daily into the town, he never could meet with a purchaser. In his distress he made a vow to Kali, that if only he could sell every drop of his oil, he would light one thousand lamps in her temple to her honour.

This however was a rash vow, for the Pandian king had issued a strict edict, that no one should light lamps at the Kali temple, under penalty of instant death.

Strange to say, on the very next day the oil merchant sold his whole stock, and in accordance with his vow, lit one thousand lamps in the temple of Kali, and went to his home.

The king, however, happened to be in the upper part of the palace and thence saw with indignation the lights at the temple. He therefore, sent out the watch to bring the daring offender before him. The step-brothers of the merchant, who were jealous of his fortune, then pointed him out to the watch, as the guilty one. He was taken before the Council of Six Thousand, and there condemned to be cut into pieces in front of the temple of Kali, for disobedience to the king's order.

The death of the oil merchant, and his wife :

The executioner instantly took him away to the scene of execution, and there, in front of the temple of Kali, cut off his head. Wondrous! the head fell upon the bosom of the goddess, and resting itself there, cried out to her, "Amma! evil is returned for good." The goddess consoled it and promised vengeance. Meanwhile her husband's death became known to the oil merchant's wife, Mayilanaiyal, [1] who put an end to her own life upon the same spot.

Sokkalingam, however, observed these deeds, and preserved the lives of the oil merchant and of his wife in a golden casket.

Kali then presented herself to Sokkalingam, and told him that she wished to become the wife of

1 Mayilanaiyal is perhaps only an epithet, "beautiful", and not a proper name.

Kovalan Setti in her next incarnation, in order that she might destroy all the Pandians before she resumed her own form.

Sokkalingam therefore, took the life of Kali and preserved that also in a golden casket.

Birth of Kovalan, Kannakai and Mataki:

Afterwards Sokkalingam took the oil-merchant's life and sent him to be born as the son of Varna-malai, the wife of Mutu Setti, and on an auspicious day caused him to be named Kovalan, so intimating that he was as beautiful as Sokkalingam himself.

Now in those days, the Pandian King and his wife were undergoing great penance, living in austerity upon a certain mountain, and praying that a child might be born to them. Sokkalingam therefore, changed the life of Kali into a lime fruit, and gave it to Kovilingi, the Pandian Queen.

After she had eaten this lime fruit, it came to pass that when ten months had fully elapsed, a child was born to her. It was a daughter, and wonderful to tell, upon the babe's right leg, at birth, was a golden bangle, and upon her left leg amulet, and around her neck was a garland of flowers.

Such a strange prodigy betokened wonderful events, and the king summoned his astrologers to draw up the child's horoscope, and explain what these miraculous signs might betoken. The astrologers then considered, and announced that as the babe was born with a flower garland around its neck, Madura would cease to prosper, and if she should cry, both north and south Madura would be in flames. They therefore advised the king, that the child should be enclosed in a coffer, and sent adrift on the river Vaigai.

Then queen Kovilingi, the child's mother, herself filled a golden cup with milk, and putting it beside the child, ordered her maid to take it before the king. The king then placed the child in a coffer, sealed it, and sent it adrift down the river.

Now it chanced that as the coffer drifted here and there with the current, that a five-hooded cobra saw it, and lodged itself upon the lid. They drifted ashore at Kaveri-pum-pattinam, and there the nakam opening the box, and seeing the babe, took the gem that was concealed in its own head, and fixed it in the bangle of the child, recognising that it was no one else but Kali. It then floated the coffer again, with the child in it, after giving her the name of Kannakai.

As the box was thus a second time afloat, Manakan Setti and Masottan Setti espied it, and took it ashore, and each claimed it as his own. When they opened it and found the child, Manakan Setti took her to his own home, and adopted her as his own daughter.

About the same time it also happened that one Vasanta-malai was performing penance at the sacred shrine of Thirukadur, and praying Sokkalingam for a child. The god granted her prayers, and changing the life of Mayilanaiyal, the oil-merchant's wife, into a lime fruit, he gave that fruit to Vasanta-malai. When ten months had gone by from the time she ate it, a daughter was born to her. She threrefore sent for the astrologers to draw up the child's horoscope. The astrologers named the child Mataki, and foretold that as she grew up she would be the most wonderful of dancers, and at her tenth year would dance publicly in a great assembly, and that a Setti named Kovalan would there see her, love her, and live with her for twelve years, and in the thirteenth year she would die.

Marriage of Kovalan and Kannakai:

When Kannakai began to grow into girl hood very many were the proposals of marriage made to her parents for her. She was asked in marriage by Masottan Setti's son, and by Kovalan, and by very many other illustrious or wealthy youths. Great was the surprise when Manakan Setti's son, Mutu Setti, invited Masottan Setti and others to the marriage of his son Kovalan. Masottan Setti hastened to ask who was to be the bride, and on hearing it was Kannakai, he grew very angry, and after with a serious quarrel with Mutu Setti, he sought out Manakan Setti, and upbraided him with his breach of faith, reminding him that he had already promised Kannakai to his son. So great was the quarrel, that night but a timely appeal to arbitration, saved the most serious consequences. The arbitrators decided that the rivals should cast lots, which was agreed to, and Kovalan became the winner. He then bound the marriage tali or necklet round the girl's neck, with all due ceremony, and she became his betrothed wife

Kovalan then requested that the festival should be completed as usual with a grand nautch.

Mataki dances a nautch, and captivates Kovalan:

When Kovalan demanded the usual nautch dance in honour of his marriage, Masottan Setti and those of his friends and relations who knew his horoscope, raised objections. Above all they dreaded his seeing Mataki, whose grace and beauty were already of wide repute, and whose charms were reported to be irresistible. His horoscope announced great danger about this time, which should reach him through a dancing girl. Masottan Setti, Manakan Setti and the other friends by their opposition served only to increase the insistance of Kovalan, who now requested

Mataki should be sent for as the dancer, declaring that on their refusal, he would commit suicide. They then withdrew all further opposition, clearly perceiving the hand of destiny was in this wish. When their invitation reached Vasanta-malai, her joy and pride knew no limits, and she agreed to send her daughter Mataki to perform the wedding nautch. She then called up her daughter and gave her the invitation. Mataki thereupon dressed herself in her richest brocaded silk, with all kinds of jewels, and asked her mother's leave to depart. Her mother now gave her as a parting gift some betel leaves, some betel nut, and a small vial of oil. The properties of these she explained were magical and she enjoined her to spread some of the oil upon the betel leaves, and to give it to be chewed by any man she desired should love her. Such was the power of the oil, that whosoever should taste, would thence-forth find it impossible to live apart from her. Mataki thus armed, set out for Kaveri-pum-pattinam on elephant back, with a rich retinue of musicians. Upon her arrival the Setti enquired her terms for dancing, to which she replied that all the terms she asked, was, that when she threw the gold necklace, which she wore at her birth, the man upon whom it might fall should become hers. They consented, but they craftily kept Kovalan in another room, at the door of which his mother kept watch. Hearing the music he asked to let him enter to see the nautch, and when he threatened her with suicide, she gave way. He then dressed himself in his richest clothes, and jewels, and sat upon one of the seats. No sooner had she set eyes on him, than the dancing girl meditating on Sokkalingam and invoking his aid, threw her necklet, and it fell over the head of Kovalan and encircled his neck. Mataki now claimed him as her lover, and

asked what presents he would give her. He gave incalculable presents to her. She then told him he might now take off her necklet and release himself. He tried and failed, and not even with knives could the necklet be separated from his neck. Then Mataki advancing, laughed at him, and said, " If you cannot take off my necklet, eat a little of my betel." He ate, and then at once went away, following her. In vain his father and others implored and begged him to consider his conduct, and not desert his wife and all his family, for the sake of a dancing girl. He replied, " I have no wife, no relations, and Mataki is all to me." Then they recognized fate, and ceased to resist, and he and Mataki went away together, riding upon an elephant, and came to the Amarkundi Iswaran temple, where Mataki swore by the palipidam (altar) itself, that she whould never love any other but Kovalan. Kovalan too swore thereon never to love any other but Mataki. When they reached the home of Mataki she bade him be seated upon a bed ; then one of the legs broke and he fell upon the floor. She then told him she had no other bed, and he must now replace it. While she cooked their food, he sent an urgent letter to his father, asking for 12 ship loads of money and necessaries.

Kovalan squanders his fortune:

Manakan Setti did as requested and despatched to his son twelve vessels laden with rice, pepper, and other cargo, and these ships safely arrived at their destination. Kovalan hearing this, went to the harbour and met them. He unloaded and landed the goods with the utmost expedition, and then realising what price he could, took the whole of the money to Mataki, and asked what she wished to be done with it. She then asked for

twelve kawnies of rice land, and many cattle, and several large mansions, and money for her table expenses, and for the expenses of her musicians, and for her mother, and for rich brocades and silken cloths, and for jewels, and for their mutual enjoyments. Kovalan therefore gave her all that she desired though he lavished all his wealth in gratifying her caprices. In this degrading idleness he lived for twelve years.

Kannakai grows up:

When Kannakai reached her seventeenth year, she one day told her maid to procure a mirror. While she was admiring her own beauty in this mirror she noticed her marriage tali (necklet), and asked why she wore it. On learning that it was tied in proof of her betrothal, she asked who the man might be, and where he then was. Her maids replied that her mother-in-law should be asked to tell her this.

Kannakai visits her mother-in-law:

Kannakai now sought an interview with her mother-in-law, who received her with great ceremony and offered her a seat. Kannakai then asked who was her betrothed husband, and where were his warehouses. Her mother-in-law then told her that he was living in the house of a dancing girl.

Kannakai asked how long he had been living there, and on learning that it was for twelve years, that he had lived with Mataki at Tirukadur, she asked why his mother had not called him away. His mother then told her that merchants of their rank would no longer respect them, if they received back a man who had fallen in love with a dancing girl, and devoted himself to her. She entreated the young wife to try and recall him to his duty.

Kannakai writes to Kovlan:

Kannakai considered this advice, and then wrote to Kovalan, saying, "Oh husband, who tied the wedding tali on my neck at my fifth year, and ever since lived in the house of a dancing girl, I am now about to die. I wish before I die to receive from your hands a little water, and that you should then perform my funeral rites, and remove my tali; then you can return again to your Mataki."

She sent this letter through some of her maids, with strict injunction to give it privately to her husband. The maids reached Tirukadur, and finding Kovalan engaged in worship of Sokkalingam at the Settirmoku temple, they gave him the letter.

Kovalan receives the letter:

When Kovalan read this letter, he bitterly reproached himself with his cruel neglect, and shed tears of sorrow; he then went to bid Mataki farewell, and when she saw that he had been weeping, she asked the reason. He told her that his wife Kannakai was dead, and he was summoned to perform the funeral ceremonies over her. He added that he could not refuse to do this, or he would be scorned and despised by all who knew him, and expelled from his family.

Mataki, however, was greatly grieved, asking whether Kannakai was more beautiful than she, and demanding what fault she had committed that he should discard her after their twelve years of happiness.

Kovalan, however, vowed to love her as before, and to return after the funeral ceremonies were completed, and the tali removed from his wife's neck.

—to be contd.

News and Notes

NEHRU'S ASSURANCE TO NON-HINDI AREAS

Prime Minister Nehru was replying to a correspondent at the Press conference whether English was going to be given the status of an official language after 1965 and would continue to be so indefinitely till a change was demanded by non-Hindi-speaking areas.

Mr. Nehru replied a decision had been taken by the Government some years ago and it was also annonced that English should continue even though Hindi might be the principal official language.

On the question of medium of instruction at the University stage, Mr. Nehru said he favoured a 'dual medium' for some time by which some subjects, like history, might be taught in regional language and technical and scientific subjects could be taught in the English medium.

As regards schools, he said what was being done was that Hindi or the regional language was the medium of instruction while English was being taught as a compulsory subject.

WORTH TAKING RISK

Asked to comment on the opposition to the retention of English as an associate official language expressed at the All-India Language Convention held in Delhi recently, Mr. Nehru said he did not agree with that view. He believed that English was necessary for the development of Indian languages including Hindi.

He said: "English is a foreign language and foreign languages are necessary. English is a foreign language which is better known than others and is necessary because it will strengthen our languages, the ideas and even the words strengthen them. There is a slight risk that English, being continued as an associate language, tends to delay a little its substitution by Hindi. That risk is worth taking because the foundations will be firmly laid."

Mr. Nehru recalled the assurances given by him and by the then Home Minister, Pandit Pant, two or three years ago on the status of English after 1965, and said these assurances had been repeated in the Presidential order.

"Parliament", he said, "was informed of it, and presumably agreed to it, that we ought to have English as an associate language. The assurance was welcomed at many places, especially in the South. *We thought it was enough, but now we think it would be better to embody it (assurance) in an Act.*

"*Apart from other reasons, we cannot go back on the pledge we have given.* But I think from the point of view purely of the development of our own languages, it is very necessary for our minds to be opened to foreign languages to literature, ideas and the like."

COMPULSORY SUBJECT

Mr. Nehru said, "We have a tendency in India -- I suppose in other countries too—of going back to our shell. The shell is wide enough and big enough admittedly, but it is a shell at the same. It is necessary to come out of it."

A correspondent suggested that the present trend in regard to medium of instruction in schools appeared

to be to go back to English and asked for the Prime Minister's comment.

Mr. Nehru replied, "We do want English in schools, not as a medium but as a compulsory subject." He did not recommend English being made the medium of instruction in schools. The medium should be the regional language or Hindi, but English should be a compulsory subject. "That is the decision we have arrived at."

—Hindu, PTL., Aug. 14, 1962.

CZECH TAMIL SCHOLAR FELICITATED

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, the Tamil scholar from Czechoslovakia, was felicitated at a function held under the auspices of the Maraimalai Adigal library on September 14. Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, in his reply said Tamil could be the medium for any subject, including chemistry, medicine and technology. Dr. A. C. Chettiar presided over the function and Mr. V. Subbiah Pillai welcomed the gathering.

—Hindu, 16-2-1962

HINDU INFLUENCES IN S. E. ASIA

Doctor Jean Filliozat of the Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, told me he was working particularly on *Saiva Agamas*. He said 28 of them were known to exist, but only 21 were available. As a result of his work, the Institute had brought out the *Raurava* and *Mrugendra* Agamas and also the French rendering of *Tiruvilayadal Puranam*. Hindu influences were manifest in the South East Asian countries. Inscriptions found in those countries were in Sankrit and even the Dravidian culture, which went to those places, appeared to have spread through the medium of Sanskrit and this showed that Sanskrit must have been the language of communication in a vast region of the world in the bygone centuries.

Dr. Filliozat said that the UNESCO have called an international conference in New Delhi in November this year to discuss measures for promoting understanding between the cultures of the East and the West. —Hindu, 16-9-62.

HISTORICAL TAMIL DICTIONARY

The preparation of a historical Tamil dictionary at a cost of Rs. 15 lakhs was recommended on Wednesday to the State Government by the Tamil Development and Research Council.

The Council requested the Government to settle the details of the scheme and determine the agency to which the work should be entrusted in consultation with the Madras and Annamalai Universities.

Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Education Minister, and Chairman of the Council presided.

The Council reviewed the progress made in the preparation of children's literature. It considered a report on the preparation of further volumes of the bibliography on Tamil books. The first volume covering the period 1867-1900 has already been published. It was decided to bring out the second volume covering 1901 to 1910. As regards the period 1910 to 1957, the Council felt that one volume could be published for every five year period. It was pointed out that the National Libarary of Calcutta was preparing a systematic bibliography of Tamil books published after 1957.

The reports on the progress of the introduction of Tamil as official language in Government offices and the work of the Bureau of Tamil Publications relating to publication of Tamil text books for college students were also considered by the Council.

—Indian Express, Octobor 26, 1962.

NATIONAL UNITY

DHARWAR, Oct. 25—Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Vice-Chancellor, Jammu and Kashmir University, said here to-day that to talk of integration in India, a plural society, was 'absurd and meaningless'. In a plural society, a society of different religions, ethnic groups, languages, etc., what was required, he stressed, was understanding, appreciation and tolerance and not 'integration' communities and religions, he observed, could not be integrated; they could live in a spirit of amity, understanding and appreciation,

Sardar Panikkar, who was delivering the convocation address of the Karnatak University, felt that committees, conferences, seminars and programmes on integration, emotional or other verged on the absurd and were a little mischievous. India was, without any doubt, an integrated nation, as much as any other nation in the world, he declared.

He said that those who talked of our lack of national integration complained about the existence of casteism, regionalism and groupism. The accusers of casteism, he pointed out, were almost always representatives of castes, who in the past had enjoyed in their areas a monopoly of political power and now found that under a democracy based on adult franchise other communities, who had so far been deprived of social influence and political power, were challenging them. The rise of 'lower castes' to political power as a result of the democratic processes, he felt, was the most welcome feature in India's democracy.

REGIONALISM

About regionalism, he said, there was no need to get alarmed. The system of federation itself, he underscored, was based on the validity of regional

personality. In a territory, as large as India, with its regions larger than many great States, with its local histories buried deep in tradition, national unity could only be based on the recognition of regional interests. Especially was it true in democracies where political representation had necessarily to have a local basis. In an autocracy or dictatorship, regionalism could be put down with a heavy hand. But, regionalism, he opined, was an essential and necessary feature of democratic States. Even quite small States like Switzerland demonstrated how strong was the feeling for the region in democratic States.

Sardar Panikkar also said there was nothing wrong with the existence of groupism which was stated to be eating into the vitals of the Congress organisation. Groupism, he pointed out, was the attempt of people outside the area of power to act together to make their ideas and opinions felt on those in authority. He believed that a party's dynamism was strengthened through its groups.

NO FALL IN EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

Sardar Panikkar doubted very much whether there was now a deterioration of standards. All talk about the fall in standards, he felt, came from people whose judgments were still based on the accent with which English was spoken or the facility with which it was written. In subjects like physics, chemistry and botany, and economics, history and mathematics, he had no doubt, there was a notable improvement in standards. However, he emphasised that there was need for their further improvement.

—Hindu, October 26, 1962.

A 50,000-YEAR-OLD CIVILISATION

ROME

A civilisation even older than that of the great Hittite Empire which flourished about 4,000 years ago has been partially unravelled thanks to the efforts of an Italian archaeological team excavating in Turkey.

This civilisation, which is believed to have had its hey-day round about 3,000 B.C., was located in Malatya. Ancient Malatya has been identified to the north of the Taurus Mountains not far from the Euphrates, with the hill named Arslan Tepe, which is about 10 kilometres from the modern city.

The following, according to Savatino Moscati, Professor of Semitic Philology at Rome University, a member of the team, are the findings of the excavating party : The great Hittite empire sprang up in the heart of Turkey around 4,000 years ago. It soon spread beyond the limits of that country and began to compete with the other leading countries of those times, Egypt and Mesopotamia.

After several centuries, the empire was defeated by an invasion from the sea, but the Hittites survived for some time in some small States which preserved their lauguage and culture. Malatya is one of these States and the city of Malatya was a powerful and flourishing one. The monumental city gate proves this, and the remains of the powerful and flourshing defence bastions are gradually also being revealed.

An invasion and a fire, an event proved by a thick layer of ash, brought those ancient fortifications down; others arose on the same site and were destroyed to be replaced by yet others. The last of those was a

formidable wall as much as six metres in depth. But not even this defence system was sufficient to save Malatya from final ruin. Those who visit the site today see stones which are of a slightly ruddy hue, touched with gold—traces left by the fire kindled in the defeated city by the Assyrian armies.

For a good 30 metres down, from the top of the hill to its base, there are remains of the successive generations of inhabitants. It was thus discovered that Malatya existed even before the Hittite Empire was founded, at least 5,000 years ago. That was the time when, on the opposite side of Turkey, the fortified citadel of Troy was building its topless towers.

The finding of certain seals, with the names of officials and rulers makes it possible to set a date to the various phases of the ancient city's history. A fine head in white limestone with a serene and thoughtful expression is supposed to be that of one of the Kings of Malatya and, if this theory is correct, the remains of a building of huge stone blocks may indicate the site of the royal palace—NAFEN.

Hindu, October, 27, 1962

SANSKRIT & TAMIL

The views of Dr. J. Filliozat, the internationally reputed French Indologist:

Q: What about Tamil? There is a view in some quarters that Tamil has had an autonomous growth and culture too.

A: Tamil is an exception to what I remarked about the languages vis-a-vis Sanskrit. The exception is very interesting. It is true that Tamil grew without depending on Sanskrit and developed a splendid literature of its own which sometimes surpasses similar texts in Sanskrit. But the Tamil culture has also

imbibed much from the Sanskrit language and the Brahminical tradition. which grew around it in the North. Let me illustrate.

Tamil was well developed, in grammar and literature, when Sanskrit came to South. Excavations in Virampatnam-Arikamedu, near Pondicherry, have given us inscriptions in the Brahmi script in Tamil and in Prakrit. The inscriptions date back to the first century A.D. and Sanskrit inscriptions appear only later. It is, therefore, obvious that Sanskrit was not yet adopted by the Tamils. That does not mean there was no knowledge of Sanskrit at all before the Christian era in Tamil Nad. Even in the times of Megasthenes, the Greek envoy, and later during Asoka's rule, there was cordial intercourse between the north and the southern kingdoms. Sangam Literature bears evidence of a knowledge of Prakrit. If the Vedas adored the Rain God as man's acceptance of a Cosmic Norm, *Kural* in Tamil, in its second chapter itself sang the glory of rain in regulating the life of man. There was a good deal of similarity of views on moral values, though the emphasis varied.

Q: So, there was, before the Christian era, healthy relationship between the South and the North and their languages. But did they not get assimilated?

A: Of course, the assimilation started, but at a later period, when Sanskrit became the *lingua franca* of India. The Tamil genius took it constructively. It was able to do so for the simple reason that Tamil was developed and had nothing to fear in the process. Such a synthesis agreed with the culture of the Tamils to take the best in anything. Moreover, Sanskrit helped them in their commercial and cultural enterprises. A major development in this field was in the growth of devotional literature which appeared in Sanskrit in

Tamil Nad. The illustrious Sankara and Ramanuja and a host of other philosophers, devotees and seers studied Sanskrit so that their philosophical quests united the hearts of millions in India. As I had said elsewhere, Sankara and Ramanuja may be called 'Sanskritising Dravidians' a phrase which would help us to understand the reaction of the Tamils to Sanskrit. Even to this day, Sanskrit words and ideas have intermingled with Tamil.

Q: You are perhaps aware of a view in certain quarters in Tamil Nad that Tamil must be purified?

A: Yes, Some years ago, I addressed a meeting at Madras, when I dwelt on the antiquity of Tamil. The next morning some journals came out quoting me (wrongly of course) that even a foreigner like me had endorsed that Tamil was the oldest language in the country and that Sanskrit was an intruder. But let me point out that even the so-called puritans use Sanskrit words in their slogans against Sanskrit! Tamil is a growing language, and attempts to enrich it always deserve praise. But if 'Purification' is in any way based on the idea that Sanskrit is alien to Tamil culture, no statement could be more absurd. Lurking behind such moves are the 'racial myth' which is long discarded not only in India but in Europe as well.

—Hindu, November 18, 1962

A Short Note on Parankunru

K. PARAMASIVAN, M. A.

" Sambandar has a poem on Parankunru but he has nothing to say about the presence of Muruga in this hill as do Murugarruppadai and Paripadal. The Muruga's shrine must have been built after A. D. 650," says the late Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai in his 'History of Tamil Language and Literature' (p. 113). He does not stop with this but proceeds further to draw conclusions from this assumption. He says, "In the eleventh Tirumurai, Tirumurugarruppadai is included and we would be perfectly justified in dating this poem and its author to about A. D. 700" (p. 113), his reason being that the above poem refers to Parankunru as one of the ' Six holy camps ' of Muruga.

But Saint Sambandar himself refers to the six holy places in another place:

"Amartarum kumaravēl tādaiūr ārinār"[1]

Evidently Parankunru was one of the six. And just because he does not refer to Muruga in his poem on this place, we cannot prove the nonexistence of His shrine in his period.

Long before Sambandar, Madurai Marudan Ila Nāgaṉār has stated in one of his poems in Ahanānūru that the poet Anduvan has sung in praise of the Parankunru hill of Muruga, the Lord with the shining spear who routed out the Sūra;

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1. " அமர்தரும் குமரவேள் தாதையூர் ஆறினார் " (3-35-6)

" Sūr marungu arutta sudar ilai neduvēl
Sinam migu Murugan tan Parankunrattu
Anduvan pādiya sandu kelu nedu varai "[1]

We cannot presume that the learned Mr. Pillai was unaware of the above poem. In fact, he refers to the name Anduvan (occurring in this poem) in earlier chapter, where he tries to differentiate the Nallan-duvanār of Paripādal from the namesake of Ahanānuru (in order to bring down the period of the former by a few centuries). There he argues, that, as the author of the poem No. 43 (in Ahānānūru) is known with the adjunct 'Madurai āsiriyar' and as the name Anduvan alone occurs in poem No. 59, Nallanduvanār figuring in Paripādal cannot be identified with either of these two (p. 29). We do not propose here to inquire into this identity or otherwise.[2] For our purpose, it suffices to say that Mr. Pillai has noted the occurrence of the name Anduvan in Aham 59. Even if we accept that the Anduvaṇ of Ahānānūru lived a few centuries earlier than the Nallanduvanār of Paripādal, the Muruga's shrine must have existed at that earlier period.

Another poem in the same anthology gives a good description of Parankunru as if to clear away any doubt from our minds as to the identity of the place. The poet Erukkāttūr Tāyankannanār says that the holy place of Muruga is situated west of Madurai and that celebrations are going on there without any break :

1. " சூர்மருங்கு அறுத்த சுடர்இலை நெடுவேல்
சினம்மிகு முருகன் தண்பரங் குன்றத்து
அந்துவன் பாடிய சந்துகெழு நெடுவரை " (59)

2. However it may be pointed out that the Nallanduvanar of Paripadal is also known with the adjunct 'asiriyar' and out of his four poems in that anthology three deal with the river Vaiyai and the fourth with Muruga (Sevvel) of Parankunru, all of which go to prove his connection with Madurai.

" Kodi nudangu maruhin Kūdai Kudādu
pal pori mannai vel kodi uyariya
odiyā vilavin nediyōn kunrattu "[1]

From all these it will be seen that the attempt to bring down the age of the Muruga's shrine in Parankunru (in order to bring down the ages of some anthologies) is hardly convincing.

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1. "கொடி நுடங்கு மறுகின் கூடல் குடாஅது
பல்பொறி மஞ்ஞை வெல்கொடி உயரிய
ஓடியா விழவின் நெடியோன் குன்றத்து" (அகம். 149)

Book Reviews

N. VĀNAMĀMALAI, Tamilnāṭṭup pāmarap pāṭalkal (The Folksongs of Tamilnad), gathered by S.S. Pōttaiyā and S. M. Kārkki, N. C. P. S. Private Ltd., Madras, 1960, pp. 157+VIII, Price Rs. 3.—*Reviewed by Kamil Zvelebil.*

More and more attention is fortunately being dedicated to Tamil folk poetry. Writers and scholars like K. V. Jagannathan, S. Viṭṭiyananthan, M. Ramalingam and others, and journals like Saraswathi or Thamarai are heralding new era of extensive gathering, broad collation and serious study of Tamil folksongs and other kinds of literary output generally as folklore.

The present work of Professor Vānamāmalai is without doubt one of the best attempts in this field. N. Vanamamalai is certainly not a newcomer; on the contrary, he belongs to the most ardent and patient students of all forms of Tamil folklore, and also he is one of those who really know it and who may be always most profitably consulted with regard to its many questions—be it the different kinds of 'bow-song' *(vil pāṭṭu)* or the dramatic *palluppaṭṭu*, or historical ballad on Kattapomman, or just short lyrical pieces, love-songs, lullabies etc. In addition to this broad knowledge Vanamamalai is armed with a sound method and correct theory of approach to folk literature, as he has proved in his numerous contributions which have appeared in different progressive Tamil journals, and now again in the Introduction to his book (pp. 1—12).

In this introduction he starts with the correct assumption of fundamental realism of folk poetry and says that Tamil folksongs are reflecting truly and realistically even if in an artistic way the life of the people, mainly of the working classes. He then proceeds to show the "class-affiliation" of this folk literature (comparing e. g. the lullaby of an upper class mother, obviously a rich farmer's wife, with the cradle song of a Palli—the pallar are a low peasant caste). Folk songs are not the creations of neutral, bloodless and shadowy literators; they are lively comments on almost every aspect of life, including the political history of the country (see ballads and songs about Raja Tej Singh, about Kattapomman, Marudu Brothers etc.)

In the present collection Vanamamalai has compiled almost exclusively those folksongs gathered in Vilāttikulam division of the Kōvilpaṭṭi Taluq (Tinnevelly) in the southernmost part of Tamilnad, current among field-labourers on the *puṉcey* (non-irriagated fields fit for dry cultivation) and on tea, cardamom and other plantations there.

Vanamamalai's introduction is closed by an appeal which should certainly be enthusiastically followed: that teachers, officials, trade-unionists and other educated people working in villages and on plantations should gather as much meterial as possible; today, with modern technical equipment of portable tape-recorders, this is surely not a difficult problem.

The Preface to the book was written by the late Sami Sidambaranar (he died on 17-1-1961) who tries to define folksongs *(nāṭṭuppāṭal)* as the literature of common people *(potujaṉa ilakkiyam)* which is anonymous, having been created by the people (mostly by working classes) for the people. He shows how, in

folksongs, old traditions, reminiscences of old customs and beliefs mingle with the new, with most modern ideas and concepts; he also shows how beautiful the images sometimes are, and how the folksongs, provided they are taken down carefully, offer rich dialectological meterial.

The text itself is divided into 7 chapters, dealing with cradle songs and songs accompanying childern's plays (pp. 13—38), songs about work or accompanying various labours and activities (pp. 39—64), love-songs (64—106), songs concerning different social topics (like widowhood, caste, drunkenness, pp. 107-126), songs concerning family life (pp, 127—135), songs describing one's village and country (139—146) and finally a mixture of various topics like the song of a washerwoman, the dialogue of an old man and an old woman about the aeroplane, a song about the train etc. (pp. 149—157). About 120 folksongs have been gathered here and commented upon. I firmly believe that the present book is only the volume, and that it will be soon followed by successive volumes from the pen of its author.

A. M. PJATIGORSKIJ, S. G. RUDIN, Tamil'sko-russkij slovar' (A Tamil-Russian Dictionary), edited by Purnam Somasundaram, with a short survey of Tamil grammatical system by *M. S. Andronov*, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannych i nacional' nych slovarej, Moskva, 1960, pp. 1384, Price *2.66 rubles.—Reviewed by K. Zvelebil.*

The publishing of this first Tamil-Russian Dictionary is undoubtedly an important event and an occasion for sincere joy. Before all, it is the first Tamil-Russian dictionary, and, at the same time, the first Tamil dictionary in a Slavonic language. As such it has not only its enormous intrinsic value

(especially for the steadily increasing number of Russian, Czech, Polish and other students and scholars studying Tamil), but it will certainly serve as one of the factors which are, from day to day, strengthening the ties between the Soviet people and the peoples of India. Second, it is indeed a very good dictionary, with many advantages and some important new features, and with only a limited number of minor imperfections.

The dictionary includes about *38,000 items*. According to the preface of the authors, it should be used when reading contemporary Tamil literature, belles-lettres as well as scientific and political prose, of the classical age. This is a modest understatement. I have tried to read some very ancient texts with its help, such as the *Purañāñūru* (1.—3. cent. A. D.) and the *Cilappatikāram* (5.—6. cent. A. D.) and I have found the dictionary very useful. Prosodic and rhetoric terms, grammatical, astronomical and astrological expressions, as well as some basic terms from the field of medicine and from various technical branches are also included.

One of the most pleasing features is the fact that the diversity of the most important lexical meanings has been preserved through, and that the selection of basic meanings was done most carefully. The difficult problems concerning synonyms and homonyms were also tackled successfully.

Another important feature of the dictionary is the great number of idioms and the rich phraseological matter found on every page. Thus, e. g., under the item *kuṇṭi*, coll., the posteriors, buttocks, the following pharses are given: *kuṇṭi kaluva, kunti kaaya, kuṇṯikkup piṉṟê pēca, kuṇṭi maṇṇaittaṭṭiviṭṭu ōṭa, kuṇṭiyum vāyum pottikkoṇṭirukka, oruvañiñ kuṇṯik koluppai*

aṭakka, kuṇṭi vaṟṟa. Here, one is probably entitled to see the strong influence of that old yet excellent work, the Tranquebar Dictionary. Compare, however, the item *mummuram*, vehemence, severity, fierceness (chosen at random), in the Tranquebar Dictionary with the same item in the work review: in Tranq. Dict., we have only one phrase: *mummuramāyirukka, mummuram paṇṇa,* whereas in the Tamil Russian Dictionary, we have *viyāti mummuramāyirukkiratu, mummuram paṇṇa, mummuramay irukka, vēlai mummuramaka naṭantukontiruntapotu.*

Very important are items concerning various spheres of modern life; most useful is the dictionary as far as the technical and scientific terminology is concerned. Thus we have, under the item *anu*, the following terms relating to its basic meaning as "atom": *anu aṭukku*, atomic pile, *anu āyutam*, atomic weapon, *anukkaru*, atomic nucleus, *anukkuṇṭu*, atomic bomb, *anu cakti*, atomic energy, *anuccitaivu*, atomic fission, *anuppilattal*, the splitting of atomic nucleus.

The Russian equivalents for Tamil items are fully appropriate and their selection, as already mentioned, was done most carefully. Most paragraphs give the impression of well-balanced unity, compiled after long discussions and deep reflections. Let me quote as an example the item *vaṇakkam*; four fundamental meanings are given: (1) adoration; worship, veneration; (2) reverence, respect, esteem; (3) salute, greeting; (4) submis-sion, obedience. Under (3), the following phrases are given: *oruvanukku vanakattai terivikka, vanakkam celutta,* and *vanakkam*, as the most common greeting.

The survey of grammatical structure by M. S. Andronov is clear, lucid, and nearly fully satisfactory; especially the chapter on particles (pp. 1361-

1363) and the syntactical parts are very successful. Unfortunately, adjectives have been entirely omitted, or rather, ignored, as if they did not exist at all.

This conception has partly crept into the text of the dictionary, too. In spite of the fact that Tamil, like all Dravidian languages, has got quite a number of original adjective stems, the Tamil-Russian Dictionary follows sometimes, in this respect, the unfortunate practice of the Tamil Lexicon, which ignores adjectives as such with a stubborn consequentiality. Fortunately this is not always the case. Often the Tamil Russian Dictionary quotes adjectives (usually the secondary, derived adjectives) as adjectives, cf. "*ciriya* pril.", which means *ciriya*, adj., which is, however, in disagreement with the fact that Andronov in his short grammar does not speak about adjectives at all. To regard forms like *ce-*, red as derived from *cemmai*, redness, means surely to ignore all facts of historical development as well as the basic features of the structure of the language. The reverse is the truth; all abstract substantives in-*mai* are derivatives from adjectival and substantival (or even verbal) stems like *per,u*, *cir,u*, *ar,u*, *pac,u* etc.

This drawback, however, does not at all substantially diminish the excellence of the dictionary. On pp. 1278—1287, toponymics are given in very fair selection; we may find the items for weights and measures in a special appendix on pp. 1288—1291, the Indian monetary system on pp. 1292—1293, as well as the most important features of the calendar on pp. 1293—1296.

To conclude, the Tamil-Russian Dictionary of Pjatigorskij and Rudin ***is a monument of exceptional diligence, critical approach and sound knowledge of both the general problems of lexicography and the specific problems of the Tamil language. It is a***

dictionary which can hardly find its rival in the sphere of more recent Dravidan lexicography.

M. S. Andronov, Tamil'skij jazyk, (The Tamil Language), Izdatel'stvo vostocno) literatury, Moskva, 1960, pp. 72, *Price 3 rubles.*—Reviewed by *K. Zvelebil.*

Michail Sergeyevitch Androno has given in his articles (published in Soviet and Indian journals) much thought to some intricate problems of Tamil grammar, especially to those of the structure and functions of the Tamil verb. In his "Tamil Language" he abstains from quoting any of his daring theories and thought-provoking conclusions (with one slight exception on p. 46). This is natural: the present volume is one of the series of short descriptions of modern as well as of some important ancient languages of Asia and Africa (e. g. Arabic, Turkish, Pushtu, Hindi, Urdu, Telugu, Malayalam, Chinese, Tibetan, Tagalog, Swahili, Hausa, Pali, Avesta, Sanskrit etc.), a series entitled "Jazyki zarubeznogo Vostoka i Afriki".

In the introduction (pp. 7—12) Andronov gives some general data about the speakers of the language, about its place among Dravidan languages (quoting in this connection Hovelacque and accepting his view that Tamil is the most important of dravidan languages for the historical investigation of the family), about the periodization of Tamil; according to Andronov, the basis of literary Tamil is to be sought in the dialect of the "inner districts of Tamilnad" (Madura-Vaikai-Kuruvur-Maruvur); this is *centamil,* whereas *koṭuntamil* is a common term for the other local dialects; *centamil* was used as a language of poetry and prose and later became the literary language *par excellence;* as the language of modern prose it was formed in its basic features in the 14th—15th centuries (Nannūl). *koṭuntamil* became to be used in everyday

life during the entire Tamilnad including the territory where once *centamil* had been spoken.

This view is probably correct, though the explanation seems to be somewhat oversimplified. But as a working hypothesis for further investigation it may prove entirely valid.

It is not quite correct to say that "there is no scientific investigation" of the dialects (p. 9). The present book was ready for print in February 1960. The articles of K. Kanapathi Pillai (in IL, Turner Jubilee Vol. 1, 1958), Susumu Kuno (in Gengo Kenkyu, 1958, 34). K. Zvelebil (in ArOr 1959) all appeared before the above mentioned date, not to speak about some older papers like J. Bloch's Castes et Dialects au Tamoul (in MSL de Paris 16 in 1910), R. P Sethu Pillai's contributions to the 10th and 15th All India Oriental Conference etc.

The rough division of Tamil dialects in five groups as given by Andronov on p. 9 may be accepted: the central group (Madura, Tirunelveli), the northern group (Madras), the eastern group (Tanjore), the western group (Coimbatore) and Ceylonese (Jaffna) Tamil (the southern group). It is also quite correct to draw a sharp dichotomy between Brahmin vs. Non-Brahmin Tamil. Andronov rightly stresses the social and cultural importance of the 'central' group of dialects (which are the 'direct descendants of *centamil*' (and of the 'northern' group which gained importance due to the fact that the economic and cultural prestige shifted from Madura to Madras.

On pp. 10—12, the author describes very briefly the history of Tamil philology.

pp. 13—21 are dedicated to Tamil graphemics and phonemics, (in the terms of the author, 'graphics'—

grafika, and 'phonetics'.) The statement that 'the sign *h*' (i. e. *āytam*) 'is used to express aspiration' *(pridychanie)* is most awkward (p. 14). The description of phonemes is brief and lucid, though the allophones are sometimes treated too shortly; some important allophones are omitted, as e. g. (ç), the allophone of /k/ in intervocalis position after /i/ and /e/ and especially before /i/, cf. *mika*, *ceykirēn* (miçʌ, sejçire:n). There are some minor mistakes such as to describe /ṭ/ before voiceless consonants and then give as example *kaṣṭam*.

Morphology is described on pp. 22—57. On the whole, this description is good clear and correct. Nevertheless I should like to offer one word of criticism. The treatment of adjectives is not only wholly insufficient, but unfortunately entirely unsatisfactory (p. 25). Andronov gives to adjectives (which undoubtedly do exist as an independent part of speech in Dravidian languages) two short paragraphs of 10 lines in all. He maintains that in the 'contemporary language there exists a very limited number of nouns which have lost the possibility to function independently and which are used only in the role of determination'; as examples he quotes such secondary adjectives as *periya*, *ciriya*, *ariya*, *paciya*, that is adjectives clearly derived from adjective roots *per-*, *cir-*, *pac-*, *ar-* by derivational suffixes; these adjectives had never the status of nouns in Tamil. Nouns like *per-u-mai* etc. are clearly derivations. Andronov follows in this respect the much criticized view of Bloch and the very unfortunate practice of Tamil Lexicon.

Perhaps I may venture to suggest at this occasion that the following system of the parts of speech (on the level of stems) may be accepted for Tamil:

1. Nouns (a) Substantives and Numerals;
   (b) Pronouns.
2. Adjectives (a) Pronominal Adjectives (such as *inta, anta,* and the preclitic *a-i-, ė-, u-*);
   (b) Adjectives Proper (such as *peru-, ciru-, aru-*):
3. Verbs.
4. Particles (i. e. idenclinables)
   (a) Adverbs (*ini, iṅku* etc.);
   (b) Particles Proper (*man, kol* etc.);
   (c) Clitics (as interrogative vowels or coordinator-*um*);
   (d) Interjections and onomatopoetic words.

This system is the result of discussions which I had with my Soviet colleagues, and the most important contribution toward it is due to J. J. Glazov and S. G. Rudin.

That Andronov himself was not very definitely convinced of his own solution may be seen from the fact that on p. 34 he speaks about *nanmai* as if it were derived from '*nal*-good' by the suffix-*mai* (which is synchronically and historically absolutely right), whereas on p. 32 when speaking about nouns in -*mai* in another connection he writes '*pēr*, large (from *perumai*, largeness).' We have since discussed this problem of the adjectives with the author and reached the conclusion that much has yet to be investigated both in the system as well as in the historical development before the final solution may be reached. I hope my friend Andronov will excuse my criticism of his views here.

Very interesting and perhaps utterly convincing is Andronov's explanation of the future of the Tamil

verb (p. 46, note 2). I should like to underline as correct and useful that Andronov dedicated due attention on echo-words (p. 57). Andronov deals with the passive (pp. 59—60) under Syntax, describing it as one of the many kinds of *'slovosocetanie'* (word-groups, word-combinations, union of words, i. e. phrases). There may be of course different opinion about this; one may perhaps regard (synchronically) the Tamil passive voice (in contemporary Tamil) as an organic part of the system of Tamil verb, and the opposition active: passive as something which is—as far as contemporary Tamil is concerned—fully within the system as a fundamental dichotomy of voices, and treat it consequently under Morphology.

On pp. 71—72, a very short example of Tamil text is given; it is a pity that the text is so very brief. In the vocabulary to that text, one misses the item *pōli*, a kind of bread or pastry.

One small suggestion concerning the bibliography: why to give only the date 1913 of the 3rd edition of Caldwell's Comparative Grammar—without even mentioning that it is the date of the 3rd edition—and not the dates of the first and second editions (1856, 1875)?

There are not a few misprints in the book, which is a pity; at random I quote: Zeigenbalg instead of Ziegenbalg (p. 11), Tamilica for Tamulica, elegantori instead of elegantori (ib.), *kukkaikkullē* for *kukaikkullē* (p. 42), *vanakkatait* instead of *vanakkattait* (p. 44), *appolutu, appotu, appo* while it should be *appolutu, appōtu, appō* (p. 53), *juram* instead of *jūram* (p. 53), dictiohary for dictionary (p. 73).

On the whole I suppose I am fully entitled to welcome this small yet important and well-written

introduction to Tamil as an indication of the fact that a new centre of Tamil studies has been founded at Moscow, with keen and diligent students; I am fully convinced that we may expect surprising and well-founded results in the future out of the pen of M. S. Andronov and other Soviet scholars in this field.

Sāmudrikā lakṣaṇam. Edited by T. N. SUBRAMANIAM. Madras Government Oriental Series, *No* CXXVI. Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, 1959, pp. XLII + 50 + 131. Price Rs. 6·90.—Reviewed by *K. Zvelebil.*

The present volume contains the Tamil texts of *puruṣa latcaṇam* and *stiri latcaṇam*, both in verse and in prose, as well as the text of *nanti nūl* In the appendix. *makalir ilakkanam*, the 30th chapter of Kācikāndam, a work by Ativirarāma Pāṇḍya (the author of the Tamil Kokkōkam) is given, as well as the Tamil version of *puruṣalakṣana* and *strilakṣana* of Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsamhitā.

These texts or most of them are examples of late expositions of the Indian schools of physiognomy and physical typology mixed with fortune-telling and sketches of palmistry. It is certainly an exaggeration to call this 'science', at least in that form in which the present texts expose it. These are rather very late and degenerated survivals of pre-scientific observations and experiences of primitive mankind; and the particular texts published in this volume do certainly not belong to the best which had been produced in this kind of literature As poetry they are poor; as systematic expositions of that rather questionable but interesting branch of human knowledge they do not bring anything new and worth study. Only those parts that renounce the fortune telling entirely and rather

simply describe purely physical aspects and psychological traits may be mildly interesting to a sexuologist or to a scholar studying comparative poetics and aesthetics. On the whole however, it may be said that the texts show a mixture of superficial observation of physical facts, a few clever remarks on human nature and a lot of nonsense, multiplied by the typical Indian passion of classification.

The English version and the Preface are both unsatisfying. One does not know: should the English text be a translation or a sort of commentary on the Tamil version—or both? I am afraid it is neither. The Tamil prose version might be interesting purely from the linguistic point of view if the date of its origin would be given or at least the problem attacked. However, the preface does not state any particulars about the date and authorship of any of the works published in the book.

Concluding I am sorry to say that, according to my opinion, the profound scholarship and great talents of T. N. Subramaniam, who has disclosed real treasures of Tamil epigraphy, might have been used in a much better and much more useful way.

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Indian Thought and Roman Stoicism

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

When Indian thought is compared with early Western philosophy, the Orphic and Pythagorean schools, Platonism, Epicurianism, neo-Platonism, and Stoicism, are those most mentioned.[1] In these comparisons it is not the metaphysical speculations of Indian philosophy, but the religious mysticism, the belief in metempsychosis, the ethical codes, the ascetic discipline, and vegetarianism, which were commonly stated as offering similarities and as worthy of notice. Lately, however, the mass of Indian metaphysical speculation and even significant legends have received from a widening circle of Western critics a more accurate and comparative interpretation than they used to receive, say, at the time of Lord Macaulay or John Ruskin.

It is hardly necessary to remind you of Macaulay's famous *Minute on Education* (1835), in which with characteristic rhetoric, he asserted, in opposition to those who would favour the continuation of the traditional learning of India, that

> "a single shelf of a good European Library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia", and asked facetiously

[1] RADHAKRISHNAN S., (Ed.) *History of Philosophy Eastern and Western*, 2 vols, London, 1953., RADHAKRISHNAN S., *East and West, Some Reflections*, London, 1955; *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1940. ZIMMER HEINRICH, *Philosophies of India*, London, 1952.

> "whether when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance at public expense medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns 30,000 years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter."[2]

John Ruskin, in an inaugural lecture delivered at the Kensington museum a hundred years ago (1858), said that Indian Art, in spite of its delicacy and refinement, never represented a natural fact, but dealt in distorted and monstrous forms:

> "It will not draw a man but an eight-armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or a zig-zag."[3]

Today the statements of Macaulay regarding Indian Science and thought, and of Ruskin regarding Indian Art, are statements which are recalled merely to show the change which has occurred among cultured persons in the West regarding things Indian. There is no great need any more even for the spirited and eloquent presentations of the foundations of Indian culture which Sri Aurobindo made in the twenties of this century.[4] This change has been brought about gradually by the persevering labour of Western Indologists during the last hundred years and more. and by the popularisers who have made use of their research. Max Müller, Hermann Oldenberg,

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[2] THOMSON EDWARD and GARRAT, G.T., *Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India*, London, 1934.

[3] *The Two Paths.*

[4] Sri. AUROBINDO, *Foundations of Indian Culture*, Pondicherry, 1959.

W. E. Hopkins, Beriedale Keith, Julien Vinson, Rhys Davids, Heinrich Zimmer, Louis de la Vallèe Poussin, Jean Filliozat, Pierre Meile, Louis Renou, J. Gonda, Giuseppe Tucci, M. B. Emeneau, Thomas Burrow, A. L. Basham, and Kamil Zvelebil are representative names of western scholars, both dead and living, whose works continue to present Indian culture and Indian thought in reasonable perspective. Several other names too could be mentioned; and yet Henry Maine and his "nothing moves in the world which is not Greek in origin", still continues to be quoted; and Werner Jaeger in the last decade stated, in spite of so much literature on India, that one does wrong to ascribe the word "culture" to the Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians and Chinese, because while these do not have a single word for real culture as an ideal to be striven after, it is only the Hellenocentric world which possesses it.[5]

There is greater evidence available today to illustrate that the development of cultures, howsoever ancient, was hardly achieved in isolation, or by cultural mutation. The Greek genius did not bloom suddenly in the Eastern Mediterranean according to an Aristotelian concept of creation, *ex nihilo sui et subjecti.* The Greek phenomenon of the pre-Christian era is explained in part as the Indo-Āryan phenomenon of the pre-Christian era in the Indo-Gangetic plain is explained in part, by anterior migrations, existing religious cults and oral literatures, and by the influences exerted on incoming groups by civilised peoples already in possession of the land.

[5] JAEGER WERNER, *Paideia, Ideals of Greek Culture,* Translated from the German, Vol. I. p. xvii, Oxford, 1946.

SYNTHESIS IN EDUCATION

Because of new and expanding lines of communication which have been opened, our mid-century tends more towards synthesis than analysis and modern educational objectives and methods seem to promote the tendency to find interrelationships and interdependence. The fragmentation of History like the fragmentation of the other Arts and Sciences, necessary, perhaps, because of the time-space limitations of the human mind, promotes an uneven emphasis and an imbalance which only synoptic and synthesising surveys may rectify. It was Alfred North Whitehead who observed.

> " a well-planned university course is a study of the wide sweep of generality ",

a generality which draws principles and power from a variety of concrete details.[6]

The thinkers, creative writers and poets of this mid-century represent this synoptic and synthesising trend, a trend already desired twenty-four centuries ago by Alexander the Great in founding Alexandria. In an historic address at a banquet of reconciliation which took place at Opis, after his Macedonian troops had mutinied because of the favour he had shown his Persian troops, Alexander called for a union of hearts (*homonoia*) and a joint commonwealth of peoples of the world. Alexandria which he founded became a commercial and intellectual centre of the Hellenic world where the East and the West met.[7]

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[6] *Aims of Education.*

[7] BARKER ERNEST, Art. "*Stoicism*" in *Ency. of Soial Sciences.*

Since then, the idea of a synthesis of world thought came into prominence now and then; it was prominent especially in the writings of a great educational thinker and pedagogue, John Amos Komensky (Comenius) (1592—1671), who outlined the plans for a University of the world to be located in England, where instruction undertaken in an artificially constructed international language would include *pan-sophia, pandogmatica,* and *pan history. Pandogmatica* was to contain the "quintessence of authors" from age to age and from land to land.[8]

Today, it should be hardly considered scholarship to compile the history of University education and ignore Takṣaśilā, Nālandā and Kāncipuram; to discuss the nature of epic poetry and ignore the *Mahabhārata* the *Ramāyaṇa,* and the *Silappatikāram*; to write on the history of the scientific study of politics beginning with Machiavelli and yet not to mention the older *Arthaśastra,* to analyse mysticism and forget the Tamil bhakti poets; to explain methods of Scholasticism and fail to mention altogether Samkara and Rāmānuja; to teach of architecture and by pass the Moghuls; to teach the history of sculpture and ignore the Naṭarāja bronze which in spite of its four arms, *pace* Ruskin, or was it because of them, Auguste Rodin and Ananda Coomaraswamy were convinced, synthesised the highest achievement and total exploitation of sculptural possibilities [9]

[8] CURTIS, S.J. and BOULTWOOD, M.E.A., *A Short History of Educational Ideas.* p. 186 ff London, 1953.

[9] See ZIMMER HEINRICH *Philosophies of India,* p. 28 ff. op. cit.

STOICISM AND LATER TIMES

Stoicism in our times is a name given to an attitude of mind as well as to a system of Philosophy which originated in Greece and was later expounded in Rome. As an attitude of mind denoting patient endurance it may be met anywhere. As a system of philosophy, some of its principal tenets seem similar to beliefs also obtaining in antiquity both in China and India. These similarities do not argue any identity of origin, or even identical sources of influence, but only demonstrate that the solutions to the problems of the practical aspects of life are limited in number and range, that philosophers are fairly well distributed in the civilized world and that similar social conditions in widely distant areas may create similarity in thought. Within India itself, the isolated life of ascetics, the control and extinction of desire, the indifference to pain and pleasure, the search for mental calm or ataraxy, the theistic and monistic order and harmony verified in the universe, and the human participation of divinity,

> *buddhir buddhimātam asmi*
> *tejas tejasvinām aham*
> I am the intelligence of the intelligent,
> I am splendour of the splendid,[10]

are possible fields of comparison with Roman Stoicism.

Roman or later Stoicism is claimed to be the greatest system of organised thought which the mind of man built up for itself in the Graeco-Roman world. Because of its way of looking at

[10] B.G. VII.

the world and at the problems of life it is still said to possess a permanent interest for the human race, and a permanent power of inspiration. Stoicism influenced the evolution of Roman jurisprudence, especially of the *lex naturalis* and the *lex gentium* and contained in germ the origins of international law. It furnished considerable proof and expression to the growth of natural theology and the thesis of the *anima naturaliter christiana.* Stoic ideas influenced Grotius (1583—1645) and Pufendorf (1632—1694) in the seventeenth century to formulate principles of international law, and it humanised the thinking of Erasmus and Montaigne as well as of the French Enlightenment.[12] In the Arab world thinkers like Al Fārābī (c. A.D. 870—950) and Ibn-Sina (980—1037) profitted by concepts they found in Stoic theology and ethics.[13] Such Stoic ideas of permanent interest need to be known wherever they may exist, and therefore, I propose to discuss two or three elements which may be termed "Stoic" as they are found in the Latin and Greek literature of Rome, and in the classical literature in Tamil, ascribed to the same first two centuries of the Christian era. The comparison between these two literatures is made more resourceful and apperceptive because of similar political and commercial factors which contributed to the widening of horizons in the two areas and because of the two-way trade

[11] GILBERT MURRAY, *Stoic, Christian and Humanist,* p. 89 ff. 2nd ed. London, 1950.

[12] SVARLIEN OSCAR, *An Introduction to the Law of Nations,* Mcgraw-Hill, New York, 1955.

[13] See R. WALZER, *Islamic Philosophy* in *History of Philosophy Eastern and Western,* op. cit.

then obtaining between the Tamil country and the Roman empire.[14]

TAMIL ROMAN TRADE

Of the countries and peoples mentioned in the Tamil classics of this period as being engaged in active commerce with the Tamil country, there is mention either explicit or implied of North Indian kingdoms, of Ceylon, of Burma, and of Kedah in Malaya, but the *Yavanar* a general term used for peoples from the Mediterranean seaboard, occurs oftener than the names of other non-Indian foreign peoples. The wealthy quarters of the *Yavanar* to be found in Tamil harbour cities are explicitly mentioned in the Tamil classics while other foreigners are classed together as "multilingual groups." Valiant and hardlooking *Yavanar* clothed in leathern jackets are found as bodyguards in palaces and war-camps of Tamil kings; they also guard the city of Maturai and are employed as engineers operating defence machinery. Impressive Yavana ships, very large ones even as the classical geographers observe, and the "Greek ships from Egypt" as the *Periplus*, arrive churning the waters of the harbour of Musiri on the west coast, unload their cargoes especially of gold and silver, and return westwards with the pepper which brought excessive profits to Roman traders. Bronze Roman lamps bearing the figure of a swan or of a woman burn in the palaces of royalty; and

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[14] See E.H. WARMINGTON, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928.

WHEELER MORTIMER, R.E., *Rome beyond the Imperial frontiers, London*, 1954.

FILLIOZAT JEAN, *Les Relations Exterieurès de l'Inde*, Pondicherry, 1956.

Yavana wine is drunk from *Yavana* goblets of gold, refilled by bangled damsels. Yavana contingents are stationed to protect Yavana trade. One such contingent is located near a harbour in which the Peutinger tables have marked a temple dedicated to Augustus-*templum Augusti.*[15]

The number of ships sailing to Southern India from Alexandria and the Red Sea ports increased appreciably during this period.

Archaeology, the insignificant tiny areas which have been dug, takes the evidence further and confirms the literary evidence. Sherds of wine amphorae made in Arezzo or in Puteoli near Naples found among the basement ruins of an ancient storehouse near Pondicherry, on chemical analysis were found to contain the residue of a popular Grecian resin wine, the inferior quality meant for export. The gold of Rome mentioned in the Tamil poem has been found in abundance in hordes and in single specimens in the South of India and in coastal Ceylon and of these impressive finds, all first-century coins which are of Augustus (B.C. 63—A.D. 14) and Trajan (A.D. 53—117) not associated with later coinage, have been found only in the South. Sufficient Roman coinage found in the Tamil areas is preserved in museums, but an equal amount or more of the finds has also gone into the jewellery of women living near the ancient harbours of the Southern coast. Fragments of Roman lamps, a great attraction to the Tamil

[15] THOMSON J. OLIVER, *History of Ancient Geography* p. 298 ff. Cambridge. 1948

MEILE PIERRE, *Les Yavanas dans l'Inde Tamoule* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1940, pp. 85—123.

poets, have also been found along with Roman and native pottery.[16]

The literary evidence for this flourishing trade from the Roman side is remarkably revealing. The classical geographers have known the harbours of these three kingdoms as their knowledge has been continually increasing since the time of Megasthenes, (fl. 305 B.C.). The Naturalist, Pliny (A.D. 23—79), the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (1st cent. A.D.) and Ptolemy (2nd c. A.D.) mention at least forty harbours, towns, rivers and emporia along this southern coast, names most of which can be identified as those mentioned also in contemporary Tamil literature. Some of these prosperous towns and harbour cities are compared in beauty and resource to the heroines of love poetry.

"You are as rich and resourceful as Kuala Lumpur and Penang" might sound strange in love poetry today, but that is how the Tamil poet looked on his beloved drawing his comparisons from the pleasures and comforts that cities like *Musiris* and *Tyndis* and *Khaberis emporion* could provide.[17]

The classical geographers know of the three Tamil kingdoms (Pāndyan, Cēran, Cōlan), their capital cities, and the source of their wealth; they know other smaller dynasties and clans, *Aioi*, *Batoi*, *Kareoi*, *Toringoi*: they know of

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[16] FILLIOZAT JEAN, *Les relations exterieures de l'Inde* op. cit.

WHEELER MORTIMER, *Rome beyond the Imperial frontiers*, op. cit.

[17] THANI NAYAGAM, XAVIER. S., *Nature in Tamil Poetry*, Singapore, 1963.

Ceylon and the sailings from Ceylon to the South Indian coast, and mention in detail the merchandise which the Romans sought from the Tamil emporia such as fine textiles, pearls, beryls, pepper, cinnamon and other spices and perfumes.[18]

Tamil trade appears to have been even more voluminous with the Orient, with the Gangetic regions, the Malayan Archipelago and with China. The Romans and Arabs headed directly to the Tamil ports using the trade winds, and the Southern harbours were emporia from which Roman goods were transhipped to further East, and South-Eastern and Eastern goods, such as silk from China and tortoise-shell from Malaya, transhipped to the West. The *Periplus* is emphatic in assigning an important role to these emporia in the trade with the Ganges region and the Golden Chersonese or the Malay peninsula:

> "There are imported into these places everything made in Damirica; what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirica and of those that are carried through Paralia."[19]

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[18] A close analysis of the information available from the classical geographers and writers shows that they knew more of the Tamil country than has been conceded hitherto by those who have interpreted them without examining the evidence of the Tamil sources. See Mc. CRINDLE. J W. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, London, 1885 and *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean sea*, Calcutta, 1879; VINCENT, W. *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, 2 vols., London, 1807; VINCENT, W: *The Voyage of Nearchus and the periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Oxford, 1809; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *The Classical accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960.

[19] W. H. SCHOFF, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* p. 46, New York, 1912. See PAUL WHEATLEY, *The Golden Chersonese*, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1961.

Later sources, Chinese, Arabic and European, point to the continuity of this centralised trade which developed because of a favourable geographical position, and the availability of merchandise coveted in East and West.

The trade in spices left certain Tamil names in Greek and Latin such as *zingiberi*, *zinpiberi* for ginger from incivĕr, and *piper* for pepper from *pippali*. Another Tamil word for pepper used at this period, *kari*, once the chief ingredient of Tamil culinary art, is left with us in *curry and rice* said to be according to one school of modern philosophers India's greatest contribution to world civilization. Huge barns along the Tiber erected in A.D. 92 stored this pepper, and the problem of exchange and the drain of Roman gold and silver into India worried Pliny who with Stoic austerity wishes to know who was the first to introduce this pungent spice to augment an already existing appetite, obtaining an unsavoury condiment all the way from India. The derivation of the Latin word for pearl (*margarites*) is not certain but the pearls of the Gulf of Mannar and of Korkai (Kolkhoi) were put to most extraordinary uses around the Mediterranean. You will remember the pearl which Cleopatra dissolved in vinegar in order to drink, as well as the dinner of a certain Clodius who gave each guest a pearl to swallow, and Nero throwing precious stones and pearls to the people and hanging his first beard adorned with pearls for veneration at the Capitol. Lollia Paulina, wife of the Emperor Gaius had 30 million of

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RENOU, L. *La Geographie de Ptolomee, l'Inde*, Paris, 1925.

sesterces worth of pearl ornaments; and Roman ladies had pearls on their fingers, toes, ears, sandals and shoes so that the rattling of pearls could be heard as they walked.[20]

The Tamil kingdoms provided the bulk of luxury articles the use of which the Roman Stoics and the early Christian writers deprecate with vigour. In examining Roman relations with India one is surprised at the association famous Roman Stoics have with the Greek and Latin evidence concerning India. Seneca (4 B.C.—A.D. 65), the best representative of Roman Stoicism of the first century, whose furniture included five hundred tripod tables embellished with legs of ivory imported most probably from India, wrote a book on India which has not reached us; and Flavius Arrianus (circ. 90—175) the most eminent Stoic of the first half of the second century, who has preserved the discourses of Epictetus, is also the one who wrote the *Indika*, and preserved the fragments of Megasthenes, Eratosthenes and Nearchus. Eratosthenes, the librarian in Alexandria from about 234 to 196 B.C. who preferred to divide men rather into good and bad than into Greeks and barbarians, is the earliest of the classical geographers of India. Posidonius (about 135—51 B.C.) who instructed Cicero and the Roman circles in a modified Stoicism who was a geographer as well, suggested, anticipating Columbus by sixteen centuries, that sailing from Spain one might strike India.[21]

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[20] WARMINGTON, E.H. *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, op. cit. 167 ff.

[21] THOMSON, OLIVER, J; *History of Ancient Geography* op. cit. See also TARN, W.W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1951.

The outline of mutual trade given above is a useful background to understand the sense of universality which is a dominant and characteristic element in Roman Stoicism and the Tamil thought of this era. It is of interest to note that while Grecian contacts with India occur through the overland route and are confined most to Northern India, the Roman contacts occur mainly by the sea route and during these first two centuries of the Christian era are predominantly with Southern India.

COSMOPOLITANISM

One of the contributions made by the Stoics to Western thought, significant for our century, is the inclusion of all men within an ethic of universal brotherhood, and within the bonds of a direct altruistic relationship of man to man. In Plato's ideal and actual states, and Aristotle's reports of Hellenic attitudes, the idea of a city-republic (the *polis*), isolated in its setting, rigorous in its maintenance of a ruling class, exclusive and selective in its citizenship and expressive of Hellenic or Athenian superiority in respect of the *barbaroi*, governed political thought and government. The ideal city of Plato was to be located about ten miles from the sea and away from the highroads so that its citizens might not suffer ideologically by contact with foreigners, and the government of the city might not become corrupt by the preference of foreign settlers for their own laws.[23] The inferior classes set

[23] PLATO, The *Laws*, 704—707, ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, VII, 4—6. On Stoic reactions see BARKER EARNEST, *Greek Political Theory*, 4th ed. London, 1960; SINCLAIR, T. A. *A History of Greek Political Thought*, London, 1959.

permanently apart for crafts and agriculture were denied the rights of full citizenship and of education; there were those born to rule and others born to obey; slaves were denied the capacity for virtue, and women were denied even academic equality with men; and the foreigner was generally looked upon as unequal in culture and refinement compared with the Greek. Aristotle whose views of the *barbaroi* are only in partial agreement with Plato's, says:

> "The Hellenes regard themselves as noble everywhere, and not only in their own country; but they deem the barbarians noble only when at home, thereby, implying that there are two sorts of nobility and of freedom, the one absolute, the other relative" (*Politics*, 1, 6).

In the Greek world there was another trend less exclusivistic, and that was traced to the Sophists, but assumed a supreme importance with the decline of the city state, and as Alexander's concepts of empire gained adherents. As early as the fifth century B.C. Antiphon, the sophist, repudiated the distinction between nobleman and slave and between Greek and barbarian as unnatural. This was the attitude of the Cynics as well, but the philosophers of the Porch, whose most important exponents were not Athenians and who had no loyalty to Attica, made it a fundamental principle of their system. Zeno had the same attitude as the Cynics, and said: "why should I be proud of Attica with its worms and its slugs?" In his *Ideal State*, a book lost to us, Zeno is said to have visualised the world as

TARN, WILLIAM and GRIFFITH, G.T. *Hellenistic Civilization*, London, 1959.

one great city where all were citizens bound together by a law of love. This concept of the *cosmopolis* has received more tributes than any other Hellenistic concept, and has formed the foundation of the Stoic sense of universality. The temper of these foreign Stoic teachers who came from the periphery of the Hellenistic world, was the same as that of Meleager, the father of the Greek anthology, a Syrian from Gadara educated in Tyre:

"What is the wonder if I am a Syrian? There is one motherland, stranger, in which we all dwell, and that is the Cosmos: there is one Father of whom we are all begotten, and He is the void."

The Stoics were prepared to overlook differences of race, of colour and of class in one great cosmic unity, and these equalising principles acquired great practical import within the Roman Empire, comprising as it did a wide range of ethnic and culture groups over a distended geographical area, and a wider world made familiar to it through commerce. The Latin poets of the Empire at the same time that they are patriotic and crown Rome with their tributes and laurels as the goddess of the earth, are yet sensitive to this new universal outlook and introduce new sentiments of solidarity and unity in mankind and in the cosmos. Slavery becomes so mitigated that manumission and self-purchase creates a new wealthy class of those who had once been slaves.[23] The statesmen-philosophers like Seneca

[23] Very few books were available in Malaya on the Romans, their culture and civilisation, at the time of the composition of this lecture.

and Marcus Aurelius are very explicit on the dual citizenship which they professed, one of Rome and the Roman Empire, and the other of the world at large. Seneca (4 BC—AD. 65) says in words which seem deliberately chosen to contradict the earlier views of Plato and Aristotle:

> "no man is nobler than his fellow, even if it happen that his spiritual nature is better constituted and he is more capable of higher learning. The world is the mother of us,. all, and the ultimate origin of each one of us can be traced back to her, whether the steps in the ladder of descent be noble or humble. To no one is virtue forbidden; she is accessible to all; she admits everyone, she invites everyonc in; free men and freedmen, slaves, kings and exiles. She regards neither birth nor fortune; the man alone is, all she wants."

Epictetus, (c. 90) the lame slave and philosopher says:

> "Nature is wonderful and full of love for all creatures."

And Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121—180):

"My nature is rational and social, and my city and my country, so far as I am Antonious is Rome, but so far as I am a man, is the world."[24]

These Stoic teachings caused the recognition of the equality of all men, gave equal legal status to men and women, conferred human

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[24] These and similar texts may be found in SCHWEITZER ALBERT, *Ethics and Civilization*. See ARNOLD VERNON, *Roman Stoicism*, London, 1911; BEVAN EDWYN, *Stoics and Sceptics*, ZELLER D., *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, Oxford, 1892; BARROW, R.H. *The Romans*, (Penguin).

rights on the slave and humanised the institution of slavery though not abolishing it. The Christian writer, Lactantius, finds it worth stating that the Stoics mode if possible for "women and slaves to become philosophers."

During the comparable period, there were different systems of thought within India providing their own answers to the problems concerning which the Stoics speculated or provided practical answers. Of these systems, the best known is the stream of Brāhminic thought, the recorded literature of which is the earliest which India has to offer. By this time, Brāhminism had developed a literature which was very exclusivistic in its concept of group life. Though Vedic and post-Vedic Monism should have developed into an all-embracing ethic of love, the *Arthaśāstras* and *Dharmaśāstras* basing their stratification of society on colour and caste imposed limits on the education of the masses, denied Vedic learning to the Śūdras. and were in theory less flexible in their laws than the ideal and actual states contemplated by Plato and Aristotle. Brāhminic law literature also defined the area between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, "where the black antelope roams" as the sacred land of the Aryas, the *karmabhumi*, within which one would have to be born or reborn to be saved.[25]

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[25] See MANU, 156. MANU, X, 102, 103; APASTAMBA, 1, 2, 7, 20, 21; MANU, II, 22. *Vasisthadharma*, I, 12—13.

"Some (declare the country of the Āryas to be situated) between the rivers Ganga and Yamuna. Others (state as) an alternative that spiritual pre-eminence (is found) as far as the black antelope grazes." See HOPKINS E. W., *Ethics of India*, p 52 ff., Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924. R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Hinduism, a retrospect and a re-*

While Brāhminic social thought bears some resemblance to the excluvism of the city republics of Greece, the social thought of the ascetic schools bears resemblance to the cosmopolitanism of the Stoics. Jainism, Buddhism and Ajivikism seem to be older in their traditions than the age of their known founders, and point to the existence of non-Vedic systems and ascetic schools which developed contemporaneously with Brāhminic thought. The ascetic religions were missionary religions, especially Buddhism, which embarked on a missionary programme, one of the most thorough and intelligent in the history of religions in Asia.

Brāhminic and Buddhist social thought is contained in priestly or monastic religious literatures. But the earliest Tamil literature is a secular literature, and Tamil society is one in which the poets and thinkers have the prestige which the Brāhmins have in Aryanised society and the monks have in states which foster Jainism and Buddhism.[26] There is no monism or mysticism of identity with the Primal origin of Being or ethical pluralism evident in this literature; the reasons for universal brotherhood are drawn merely from the nature of man (the *phusis* and *natura* of the Stoics), and from a rationalistic and humanistic unity to be found in Nature and the Cosmos. For a Tamil poet in the first or second century A.D. to have said almost like Seneca or Marcus Aurelius:

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view, in *Group prejudices in India, a symposium*, Vora and Company, Bombay, 1951, p. 72. KANE P. V., *History of Dharmaśastra*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 110 ff. Poona, 1946.

[26] See MEILLE PIERRE, *Littérature Tamoule* in *Hist. des littératures* I, Ency. de la Plèiade.

"Every country is my country and every man is my kinsman,"

seems remarkable indeed.[27] The motive to embark on a life-long education of the self, a process so clearly outlined in Confucius and in Plato and revived in our times under the total concept of Adult Education is stated in this literature to be man's citizenship of the world. Since every country and every city is his own, he ought therefore to continue to learn about them all his life. A more suitable motto for education for membership in the world community would be hard to find in antiquity than the verse:

"Yātānum nāḍāmāl ūrāmāl en ōruvan sāntuṇayum kallātavāru."[28]

The broder solidarity in cosmopolitanism is generally strengthened by the loyalty to a particularistic national society, and in Tamil thought a triple loyalty is implied, one to a particular Tamil kingdom, the second to a citizenship in the pan-Tamilism of three kingdoms; and a third, the citizenship of the word.

There is no slighting of the foreigner; foreign countries are merely those where the language differs, and the multilingual foreign groups of the harbour cities are mentioned with deference. The references to the few and small vedic communities in different parts of the country are always courteous even when their peculiarities are mentioned. One cannot help concluding that

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[27] THANI NAYAGAM. XAVIER S. *Ideal of the Expanding self* in *Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras*, Vol. XVII (1960—61).

[28] *Tirukkural*. 397.

the politial and commercial importance of the Tamil states and their harbour cities and capitals during the first two centuries of the Christian era, and urbanisation and frequent travel have developed this sense of universality.

HUMAN BROTHERHOOD

Human Brotherhood is a concomitant concept of universality, either as its cause or as its result. The stratification of society, the institution of slavery and the total dedication to the city-state, were the main obstacles to the notion of human brotherhood in Greece in the same manner that particularistic racial and religious sentiments and laws governing Śūdras and foreigners were the main obstacles to the development of human brotherhood in the society where Aryan law was paramount. It has been the tendency among some scholars to rationalise the caste system of India and justify it by a great number of arguments and after-thoughts which do not bear scrutiny, as it has been the fashion for certain classical scholars to mitigate the nature of slavery in Greece. Those of us who are unable to be so romantically inclined towards these institutions, accept slavery in Greece as slavery and caste in India as caste.[29]

There was always in India a current of opinion which was hostile to caste restrictions. Of this antagonism we have adequate evidence in the Buddhist books as well as in *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva* literature. The Buddhist books, however, are those most eloquent in repudiating

[29] See SHARMA, RAM SHARAN, *Sudras in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1958.

colour and caste prejudices, and these prejudices must have been insupportable to those discriminated against judging from the trend of the argument in the Nikāyas. The Buddhist books consider caste prerogative based on birth and colour as the greatest social evil with which they have to contend, and open the doors of asceticism to men and women and lay following to all groups without distinction.

Rhys Davids has considerable evidence to support him when in one of his erudite and searching introductions to the *Suttas,* he says,

> "Had the Buddha's views on the whole question won the day and widely shared as they were by others, they very nearly prevailed—the evolution of social grades and distinctions would have gone on in India on lines similar to those it followed in the West. *and the caste-system of India* would never have been built up."[30]

Some of the arguments used in the Nikāyas against caste prerogatives are most amusing as when it is said oxen are not classified by their colour but by their strength and activity, and so, too should honours be conferred on men according to ability, and if a sūdra were wealthy, the brāhmins would be there to serve him.[31] It all sounds so much like the arguments used in this twentieth century by platform orators in India in the reform and self-respect movements.

The concept of human brotherhood gained adherence in India not so much on account of

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[30] RHYS-DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* Vol. I, p. 141.

[31] *Anguttara,* I, 162. See MALALASEKARA G P. and K.N. JAYATILLEKE, *Buddhism and the Race Question,* Unesco, 1958.

the universalistic implications of metaphysical postulates, but because faced with the doctrine of *varṇa* both those who suffered its disabilities as well as those who rebelled at its deficiencies as a social doctrine were compelled to define human rights and human equality. This situation seems to have arisen in Tamil society for its thinkers to reiterate human equality and state that birth equalises all men and that social differences are due to occupations. Jainism and Buddhism which were gaining adherents and the inter-religious tolerance of a Hyde-Park corner kind then obtaining in the Tamil country, were additional factors in the increase of the sense of cosmopolitanism.

The structure of Tamil society was very different from what the brāhminic books on politics and ethics were advocating in other territories. There were no distinctions and disabilities arising from caste divisions, and education and perfectibility were open to all groups. No one was considered a "moving burial ground", and no occupation was considered too low or too manual as to deny to those engaged in it the possibility of advancement in virtue. The poets and poetesses and bards of both sexes who move with kings without losing the common touch, as moralists, counsellors, royal messengers and teachers, come from a great many occupational groups; kings, queens, ministers, landlords, chieftains, astronomers, teachers, arithmeticians, merchants, and actors and blacksmiths. And their literature is a literature of the people, not of an aristocracy or of an élite. There is a unity seen in the cosmos of sentient

and non-sentient being, but that unity is of a naturalistic kind and not the theistic or pantheistic unity of Stoicism.

The Wise Man

Stoicism is again noted for hypostatising its ideals of life in the ideal of a Wise Man—the *sapiens.* Various moral and political philosophers, have portrayed the ideal who embodies in himself the spirit and the qualities which they hold desirable for their particular society and age. Thus Plato draws the picture of the philosopher—statesmen in his various dialogues, Aristotle, the picture of the ideal ruler and the ideal citizen, and Confucius the qualities of the chün-tzu.[32] The Stoics more than any other school of western ethics pointed to their ideal, the Wise Man, an ideal, which precisely because it was ideal, embodied a great many virtues, attitudes and dispositions hardly ever to be realised in the one and the same person, an

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[32] WALEY ARTHUR, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 34 ff. London, 1956.

The Wise Man from India in the person of the yogi has been an attraction in the West ever since the days of Alexander and the ten Yogis whom he interviewed because they had incited a rebellion against him. Plutarch recounts how ten of these gymnosophists gave their characteristic short and pithy answers. The first was asked whether he thought the living or the dead to be the more numerous. He answered " The living for the dead are not." The second was asked " which breeds the largest animals, the sea or the land ? ". He answered " the land for the sea is only a part of it." The following eight too gave similar answers, and Alexander sent them away with gifts instead of putting them to death. Gymnosophists seem to have been included in the embassies sent to Rome, and the Christian writers like Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria know a little about Brahmins and Gymnosophists and their doctrines and mode of life.

anomaly of which their critics did not hesitate to ridicule them. Though it was held by them that the Wise Man was rare, and Seneca even describes him as rare as the phoenix and honestly disclaims any corresponding character as being verified in his own self, the Stoics of the Roman principate generally affirm the existence of many Wise Men.

The Stoic *sapiens* was to foster a mental calm even in the face of trouble and disaster and crush desires; was generally supposed to be aloof and remote so as not to become immersed in public affairs or civic strife, and instead devote his time to the cultivation of his mind and his virtues. Cicero who is far more precise concerning public and private duties, belongs to an earlier age, and though influenced by Stoicism and had Stoic teachers, does not identify himself as a Stoic.

To Tamil thought more than to any other section of contemporary Indian thought, the ideal of a Wise Man of human proportions with human qualities was fundamental. He may not have any of the thirty-two great marks, or the numerous smaller marks which designate the superman or Mahāpuruṣa of other traditions. He may not be endowed with the physical qualities of the magnanious man of Aristotle. In fact, there is an explicit warning not to confound physical appearance with personality or wisdom though pleasant looks and family upbringing are useful. He was the *sānṟōn*, a word derived from a root signifying fullness and completeness, so that he was not merely the Wise Man or desirable man as implied in the

etymon of *sapiens*, but the *Complete* or *Perfect* man, well made and full of those qualities, intellectual, moral, emotional and aesthetic which signify all-round robust goodness. It is because these complete men exist that the world becomes a livable place; if their greatness were to diminish, the world would cease to exist. One does not acquire grey hairs in a hurry when several such wise men live in one's vicinity.

The Tamil Wise Man is not to be an anchorite or a recluse or a muni like the ideal of the ascetic schools, or live in the world in splendid isolation or in magnificent detachment. He is to live fully his days of courtship and of married life rejoicing in the laughter and the love of his children and of friends. His aim should be the development of individual excellence by a complete dedication to his social and civic duties. In no section of Indian thought does life with a social reference obtain such measured consideration.

Any attempt to describe in brief a personality profile of the Wise or Complete Man of the Tamil books must seem as despairing as summarising the features of the Wise Man of the Stoics, because of the numerous virtues which the Tamil is called upon to exercise in the complex situations of his daily life as a lover, a husband, a parent, a citizen and a friend. The almost unattainable character of the Wise Man could make the Stoics as well as the Tamil philosophers persistent in refusing to accept in concrete anything short of the Ideal in every character placed before them: "No, not that, not that; the one we have dreamed of is fairer

far than that, more magnificent and wonderful. Earth has never seen him, or at best it saw him but for a moment, and he was gone."[33]

ALTRUISM AND CULTURE

Certain individuating characteristics of the Tamil Wise Man refute the pessimism, negativism, and fatalism sometimes attributed to Indian thought in general. The basis of his life should be altruism, that is, informed by the ideal *to live not for self but for others.* He is one who would not consume selfishly and alone even the nectar of immortality. His acquisition of wealth is merely to serve as a means to provide for social and educational opportunities for the less fortunate, to be philanthropic and to acquire the pleasure which comes from hospitality. Even marriage is conceived primarily as a joint partnership which facilitates the joint provision of entertaining friends and strangers and offering a limitless hospitality. His altruistic life is not motivated by "mercenary motives" of rewards possible in another life; even if there were no other life he would have to be benevolent, for it is the right life and the humanism proper to a Wise Man. He must find his "good" and the right in the performance of his duty, and in the concept of justice. Humanism and optimism are two of his important characteristics.

The Stoic and the Tamil agree that in the service of his fellow men they must be prepared to sacrifice their health, their possessions, their lives; to be forgiving to enemies. But there is one thing that the Stoic should never sacrifice,

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[33] BEVAN EDWYN, *Stoics and Sceptics*, op. cit, p. 57 ff.

his own eternal calm. Therefore, pity to the Stoic in the sense of a painful emotion caused by the sight of others suffering is actually a vice. The most a Stoic may do is to feign sympathy, but he must take care not *feel* it. He may sigh, says Epictetus, provided the sigh does not come from his heart. The Tamil Wise Man's philosophy of indifference to pain and pleasure and the cultivation of tranquillity in the face of disaster is for personal discipline, but his equanimity is reconciled with sympathy for the sufferer in the Greek and derivative sense. Pity is not only encouraged, but positive and expansive love and benevolence as the fountain of all service is prescribed, and a sincere moistening of the eyes is explained as the indication of true and overwhelming sympathy within. There is a difference between Epictetus and Tiruvaḷḷuvar in their ideals of the Ideal Man.

Albert Schweitzer in surveying the world's ancient literatures for ethical values, was quick to perceive the contribution which Tamil thought had to make by emphasising this ethic of love. Of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, a codex of gnomic verse which epitomises the ethical Tamil thought of this period, he says that its ethics is more advanced than that of Brāhminism, Buddhism, and Bhagvad-gītā Hinduism.

> "Like the Buddha and the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Kural desires inner freedom from the world and a mind free from hatred. Like them it stands for the commandment not to kill and not to damage. It has appropriated all the valuable ethical results of the thought of world and life negation. But in addition to this ethic of inwardness there

appears in the Kural the living ethic of love.........."

"With sure strokes the Kural draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct of man to himself and to the world its utterances are characterised by nobility and sense. There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom."[34]

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[34] *Indian thought and its Development* p. 203, London 1951.

The following are some of the books which will be found helpful in studying the Indian religions and ethics of the period and in the interpretation of the pertinent texts.

ADIKARAM, E.W. *Early history of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Ceylon, 1946 APTE, V.M. *Social and religious life in the Grhyasutras*, Bombay, 1954. BASHAM, A.L *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1961.; BHANDARKAR, R.C. *Vaishnavism, Saivism and other minor religious systems*, Strassburg, 1913, Poona 1928; DUTT, N K. *Origin and growth of caste in India*, Vol. I (C. B.C. 2000—300) London, 1931; DUTT, Sukumar, *Early Buddhist monachism*, 600 B.C.—100 B.C. London, 1924; ELIOT, C. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, re-issue 3 vols. London, 1957, (first published 1921); FICK, *Die sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas zeit*, Kiel, 1897 (English translation by S. MAITRA, *The Social organisation in North-East India in Buddha's time*, University of Calcutta, 1920); FORMICHI, C. *Il pensiero religioso nell' India prima del Buddha*, Bologna, 1925 (French translation by F. HAYWARD revised by author, Paris, 1930); GHURYE, G.S. *Caste and class in India*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1950; GUERINOT, A. *La religion Djaina, histoire, culte, coutumes, institutions*. Paris, 1926; HOPKINS, Washburn E. *The religions of India*, Yale, 1895; JOLLY, J. *Hindu law and custom*. Translated by S.K. Das from the German edition of 1896, Calcutta, 1928; OLDENBERG, H. *Ancient India*, Second ed. Chicago, 1898; OLDENBERG, H. *Buddha: Seine Leben, Seine Lehre, Seine Gemeinde* Berlin, 1890. English translation *Buddha: his life, his doctrine His order.*, London, 1892; RENOU, Louis, *Religions of Ancient India*, University of London, 1953; RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. *Buddhism*, London, 1917; RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. *Buddhist India*, London, 1903 (reprint) Bombay, 1955; RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. *Early Buddhism*, London, 1908; SCHUBRING, W. *Die lehre der Jainas*, Leipzig, 1935; trans. *The doctrine of the Jainas*, Banaras, 1962; TUCCI, G.

What the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* embodies is the rationalisation and synthesis of the wisdom and ideals of the earlier Tamil literature which is contemporary with the writings of Seneca, of Epictetus, of Pliny, of Arrian and of Marcus Aurelius. The Stoics agree far more with the Buddhist ideal of ataraxy than with that of the Tamil. The former two tend to a detached intellectualism at the expense of the emotional and the aesthetic life, but in the third, the emotional and aesthetic aspects of personality are important means of self-realisation.

Though altruism is his great ethical characteristic, it is his culture which enables the Tamil Wise Man to develop the marks of gracious living and the sentiments and attitudes which make him a pleasant member of society. While the word ṣānṟōn denotes completeness, the world for culture (*paṇpu*) denotes quality or the effort to obtain quality by constant striving and fertilising, and has the same sense as when Cicero derives culture from agriculture, the *cultores agri.* Culture in Tamil thought is a quality which should be found in the sovereign, in the lover, in the parent and in the child. It includes in its code a humaneness towards all human beings and towards all life, including animals and even plants. Persons endowed even with the sharpest intellects are not cultured but just timber if they

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Il Buddhismo, Foligno, 1926. VALLÈE POUSSIN *Louis de la, Le dogme et la philosophie du Buddhisme.* Paris, 1930 (with bibliography); VALLEE POUSSIN Louis de la, *La morale Bouddhique*, Paris, 1927; WILLIAMS, W. Monier, *Buddhism and its connection with Brahminism and Hinduism and its contrast with Christianity*, John Murray, London, 1890; WILLIAMS, W. Monier. *Religious thought and life in India*, John Murray, London, 1883; ZAEHNER, R.C. *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, London, 1960.

possess not the humane feelings common to common humanity. Familiarity with persons of culture produces increasing joy like that which familiarity with the classics engenders. Culture includes the humanism of interest in man; it includes the tolerance and forbearance of dissentient views with the patience of Mother Earth who sustains and supports, and harms not those who dig, and scope and tunnel her.

To forgive enemies is culture, but to forgive friends is a higher culture. To return good to those who have been bad to you is culture. To be accessible and friendly with the lowly is culture. Culture includes the learning which considers itself inadequate, the service which expects no reward, the greatness which ever is humble, the largeness which forgives, the gentlemanliness which never inflicts pain, the purity of intention and the spotlessness of mind which are born of truth and justice, and the expansiveness which comes of not harbouring petty thoughts resulting in the shrivelling of personality. Culture is fostered by learning, by the critical search for knowledge in books, by association with the learned, by the art of conversation which includes as well the art of listening, by the eloquence which should be able to express lucidly one's subtlest thoughts, and by friendships which provide the opportunity to give and to receive. Culture includes the humanism which enjoys humour and laughter. "To those who are unable to laugh it is pitch dark even amidst the blaze of noon."[35] Culture is fed on ideals—

[35] *Tirukkural* 999. The following books give accounts of Tamil Literature and its characteristics:

the man without ideals is a corpse. Culture, cannot be an ideal which "*only* a Hellenocentric world possesses."

In this comparable period, there is a literature in Tamil on friendship which bears comparison with Cicero, on eloquence with Cicero and Quintilian, on morality with the writings of Seneca, and a love poetry not less interesting than Catullus but much more impersonal and universal in its appeal.

CONCLUSION

These comparisons of Indian thought with Roman Stoicism may be made not only in the domain of ethics but also in several other fields. Three great books of Indian ethical thought illustrate three great traditions, and point to a certain unity as well as diversity within the complex systems which come under Indian thought. They are the *Bhagavaḍ Gītā*, the *Dhammapada*, and the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*; the first theistic and incorporating several traditions, the second representing the "*sramaṇic*" tradition of asceticism and Buddhist in inspiration, and the third humanistic, representative of a poetic tradition, and of a society in which priests and monks have as yet no traditional social functions. These three books are in three different languages,

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CASIE-CHITTY, SIMON, *Tamil Plutarch*, Colombo, 1946; JESUDASON, C. & H., *History of Tamil Literature*, Calcutta, 1961; KANAGASABAI PILLAI, V. *The Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago*, Madras, 1904 (reprinted Madras, 1959); SESHA IYENGAR, T.R. *Dravidian India*, Madras, 1925; SIVARAJA PILLAI, K.N. *Chronology of the early Tamils*, Madras, 1932; SRINIVASA IYENGAR, P.T., *History of the Tamils from the earliest times to* 600 A.D., Madras, 1929; TAMBYAH ISAAC, T. *Psalms of a Saiva Saint*, Luzac, London, 1926.

Sānskrit and Pāli and Tamil, and while the two are representative of the Northern traditions in religion and ethics, the third is representative of the Southern tradition.[36]

I believe that what I have said will also indicate that it would be hardly valid to generalize on Indian thought on the basis of any single Indian literature, classical or modern, or on the basis of one single tradition, or region or religion. Literary evidence, both classical and modern, elements Dravidian and Aryan, philosophies of the North and of the South, and the beliefs and values of the masses preserved in popular cults and folk literature, all contribute to our study of Indian thought. This lecture has been mainly concerned with one tradition, and that tradition links up the past and the present through a living language and literature which have maintained an unbroken recorded continuity at least for the last twenty-three centuries, a continuity not verified in the fortunes of many of Tamil's ancient contemporaries. That recorded tradition opens up new perspectives of relevance when connected, as it seems most reasonable to do, with earlier oral traditions and with the Indus Valley Culture and its monuments of the second and third millenia before the Christian era.

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[36] The attempt to trace all Indian thought to Sānskritic sources still persists even among a section of scholars whose knowledge of the Tamil language might suggest a more accurate interpretation. What grounds might Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri have for the following statement made in his mature years: "All these literatures owed a great deal to Sanskrit, the magic wand whose touch alone raised each of the Dravidian languages from the level of a patois to that of a literary idiom" (*A History of South India*, 2nd ed. p. 330).

During its long history, the Tamil tradition has come to include the main currents of Indian religious and philosophical thought, while preserving its identity unchanged by the political upheavals which occurred in the territory north of the Tamil borders. Śaivaism, Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism, Jainism, Islam, Christianity and Roman Catholicism have all of them great literary works in Tamil. Throughout the larger portion of its history, it has had the advantage of contact with a great classical dead language and a great classical literature in Sānskrit, as Latin had in Greek. Unless the evidence of the Indus Valley, of the *Tolkāppiyam*, of the love and bhakti poetry in Tamil, of the siddhānta philosophy, of the ethical verse, of the epic poetry and of the fine arts and crafts of the South, enter into the syllabuses and studies of Indological research, a more accurate and balanced presentation of Indian thought than that which obtains now will not be possible. It would be true to say, that since the last war, there is a marked decrease in the tendency to build Indological interests on Indo-European language and racial affinities as the sole or main determinants or as inspirational motives. Nor is an indefinable attitude of self-efficiency or an esoteric Boston Brāhminhood now assumed by those who study the Vēdas and the Upaniṣāds. But "the too exclusive examination of India from the Indo-European standpoint" still continues.

The term "Indian Studies" is itself so comprehensive that hardly any University would be able in its teaching and research to cover every field of study which may be included in

the term. Consequently certain fields have necessarily to be selected for special study taking into consideration such facts as the needs of the country and of society, the availability of funds, the demand for such studies, and the contribution that has to be made along with other departments to the implementation of the declared policy of sustaining and fostering the cultures and languages of the component groups of the nation. To scatter energies over a wide field is no help in the slow building up of ordered knowledge, and in the establishing of our own traditions which should supplement and dovetail the work of similar departments in South East Asia and in the world.

In Departments of studies of this kind, there is a tendency to a static antiquarianism and to a conservatism which have to be counter-balanced by a consciousness of the importance of the present and by a vision of the future. Modernization of courses should maintain teaching continually revised; and creative teaching should beware of "inert ideas", that is "ideas which are not tested or utilised or thrown into fresh combinations." Extending the frontiers of know-ledge, a phrase which reveals the adventure and the joy of discovery incidental to University research in an atmosphere of academic freedom, is a vital function of a University. A Depart-ment of Indian Studies with specialist courses in Tamil Studies, (and Tamil studies to include courses in Dravidology and Sānskrit), should be able to restore to Indology some of the equipoise it needs, and exploit the possibilities of new discoveries and approaches available to Indian

Studies in South East Asia. We cannot just afford to continue repeating what Coedés and Krom and Stutterheim and Windstet have stated. There are considerable new areas which remain to be studied, and these require in a Department both the energy and enthusiasm of youth as well as the breadth and depth and the richness and ripeness which comes with experience and the years.

New areas exist in the interpretation available to Indian Studies by the close collaboration possible in this University with Malay, Islamic and Chinese Studies. New areas exist for Indian Studies as defined in this University, in the history and culture of Malaya, in Sumatra, in the Dieng Plateau of Java and in Bali, amid the ruins of Mison and Po-Nagar and in Oc-eo in Vietnam, in Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom in Cambodia, and in the speech and literature and the monuments of Thailand. We might even go further in this adventure and study Chinese thought and literature and uncover sources and similarities yet unknown, or travel further North to find resemblances with the *tanka* in Japanese poetry and with Zen Buddhism. The scope is great and the opportunities are many. Let us hope and trust that this University will be rich in the utilisation of these opportunities while fulfilling its role as a centre of learning in South East Asia.*

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A Few Notes on Colloquial Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

0. The actual state of affairs in any community of language is always much more diverse and complicated than our description may reflect. Let us take the major languages of India: all of them have regional dialects as well as dialects which are in correlation with differences in social position; all of them have special literary forms of language which differ more or less from the colloquial forms.[1]

1·1. In this very short contribution I should like to outline very generally the state of affairs in Tamil[2] and to indicate the direction of future research in this field.

1·2. First of all, we must answer (and the answer should be yes–or–no) the question whether there exists, in Tamil, a form which may be

[1] There are a few papers which deal with these problems generally or with reference to India as a whole, cf. C. A. Ferguson, Diglossia, Word 15·2, 1959 or Linguistic Diversity in South Asia, Introduction by Charles A. Ferguson, IJAL 26·3, 1960.

[2] A few papers deal with these matters as far as Tamil is concerned: Kamil Zvelebil, Dialects of Tamil II, ArOr 27, 1959, pp. 572–603, M. S. Andronov, Razgovornyje for my tamil' skogo glagola, Colloquial forms of Tamil verb, Kratkije soobščenija Instituta vostokovedenija XXIX, Moskva 1959, pp. 16–26, M. Shanmugam Pillai, Tamil–Literary and Colloquial, IJAL 26·3, 1960, pp. 27–42, further R. P. Sethu Pillai, Tamil–Literary and Colloquial 60 pp., and M. S. Andronov, Razgovornyje tamil' skij jazyk i ego dialekty, The colloquial Tamil speech and its dialects, shortly to be published, K. Zvelebil, On Finite Verb Terminations in Colloquial Tamil, to be published in ArOr 1962/4 and Vowels of Colloquial Tamil, to be published in ArOr 1963/1.

called a colloquial standard. Do there exist, in Tamil, two varieties of the language, side by side, in the idiolect of one speaker, through the community as a whole, with each having a definite role to play? The answer to this question should be, according to my conviction, affirmative. On the one hand, there is a literary Tamil used for writing and formal speaking (which may be called Standard Literary Tamil, or *platform speech*) and, on the other hand, a type of speech used in ordinary informal conversation by educated Tamilians when talking to the members of their families, to their friends, and generally to persons of the same social standing and the same level of education, a *common speech*.

This does not, however, answer one important point in our original question, namely, whether this colloquial form, this common speech, is a standard. Let us examine some of the features of this common speech in detail: whereas, in the literary form, there is a large body of literature going back about 2000 years and regarded very highly by all Tamil speakers today, there is practically no literature in the colloquial form (this feature being strikingly different from colloquial Bengali, the *calit bhāṣā*, in which the most distinguished Bengali poets and prosaists do write); literary Tamil has prestige, the colloquial has not; literary Tamil is superposed and learned in the schools, colloquial Tamil is learned naturally, either as primary at home, or later in daily communication, if the speaker speaks a local dialect. Between the literary standard and the colloquial form there are striking differences in phonology, grammar and even in lexicon. When we compare

the forms (e.g. finite verb forms) used by speakers of local (or social) dialects with the forms used in this superposed colloquial we may discover very soon that there are striking differences between the two; naturally, the forms used by some dialects are nearer to those used in this colloquial, common speech, whereas forms of other dialects are more different. This shows that a kind of s t a n d a r d colloquial speech *has arisen* and *does exist,* and the speakers of substandard, local dialects, imitate this standard and learn it, often, as a superposed standard colloquial. This superposed standard tends to spread, remaining, however, for the time being, limited to the functions appropriate for any "low" variety. Now, the question remains, on what kind of speech this Tamil superposed standard colloquial is based?

1·3. Comparisons with quite a number of forms used by the speakers of different local and social dialects shows, that this Tamil colloquial *standard* is based on the speech of *middle-class non-Brahmin* (especially *veḷḷāḷa*) *population of a few important communication centres,* especially of *Madurai, Tiruchirappalli* and *Madras.* If we ask which l o c a l dialect may have served as the most copious source for the origin of this superposed standard colloquial Tamil, I believe we may point to the c e n t r a l Tamil area, that is forms of Tamil spoken between Madurai (and in Madurai) in the south-west and South Arcot in the north-east (including Tiruchirappalli and Tanjore).

1·4. It is most important to stress one fact: this colloquial standard is undoubtedly the nucleus and the base of the future full-fledged s t a n d a r d n a t i o n a l T a m i l l a n g u a g e.

It cannot be denied that this colloquial standard gains more and more prestige, though there are some opposite directions to be accounted for too. This form gains steadily, though slowly, ground; it is a progressive form in full swing of its development; it has already entered the movies and the broadcast; its lexicon has invaded newspapers; sporadically, it is being used even in literature.

Scholars all over the world are aware of this fact. In the U.S.S.R., they dedicate much of their time and attention to the investigation of this colloquial form (especially M.S. Andronov). In the USA, they stress that the approach to important South Indian languages (and Tamil is being considered as one of the most important) "should be through the spoken language before the written." In India, some scholars (notably M. Shanmugam Pillai) devote much of their energy to careful investigation of this colloquial standard.

No wonder that it is so: it is a good thing to help when a national language is being born; it is imperative to investigate, analyse and describe the process of this birth and growth, and also to fight against all attempts to check this growth which is legitimate, progressive and in accordance with the objective development of the language *as a whole*.

The following are the chief reasons why the present colloquial standard (partly, naturally, reshaped and further developed under the simultaneous influence of the Literary Standard and, may be, also of the local dialects) will finally be adopted by the Tamils as their *national language*: First, by its adoption the educational problem will be immensely simplified since,

as already said, most people acquire a basic knowledge of this form "naturally" in their childhood or as a spoken superposed variety, whereas the Literary standard must be learned (often by a laborious and wearisome process) "artificially"; second, the colloquial becomes more and more a most effective instrument of communication at all social levels and on the entire Tamil-speaking territory (at least in continental Tamil India); third, it is the outcome of an inherent historical evolution of the language as a whole, and of the community which speaks the language; fourth, "it is closer to the real thinking and feeling of the people" (C. A. Ferguson).

Analogy with other speech-communities proves beyond doubt that the Tamil-speaking community cannot be an exception to the general, objective development. Though this situation may last a long time (and it has lasted, in Tamil, a number of centuries), it cannot last for ever; the literary form finally becomes a learned or liturgical language, studied by priests or scholars, and not used actively by the community (cf. the case of Latin, Old Church Slavonic, Pali etc.) The standard colloquial (usually a mixed variety based on a local dialect) becomes the national language, used actively by the community and written in literature (cf. the *calit bhāṣā* of Bengali).

1·5. The standard colloquial Tamil is different both from the local, territorial dialects, and from the social dialects; in terms of the development of the community, the local and the social dialects reflect the feudal past of the community, its horizontal and vertical diversity prevalent during feudal times. This standard colloquial is,

however, different also from the *koccai* (in its narrow sense), that is from the slangs and argots, the real "vulgar" speech of some strata of the uneducated urban population. We may indicate the levels of Tamil by the following diagram:

unit-term	in speech	in writing	based on (past)	developing into (future)
1. SLT Standard Literary Tamil	platform speech; used on formal occasions, in schools, news-broadcast, on stage	contemporary creative and technical literature	centamil	learned language, studied by scholars and specialists
2. SCT Standard Colloquial Tamil	common speech, ordinary informal conversation of educated Tamils, in AIR, films, occasions on stage	sporadically in modern creative writing	non-Brahmin middle-class speech of towns in central Tamil area plus Madras	overall national Tamil language
3. Local Dialects (*patois*)	folk speech, local dialects used by masses in rural areas and uneducated strata of urban population; occasionally in films and on stage	occasionally in creative writing for characterization and comic effect	dialect splitting of the past	unification and levelling (under simultaneous possible origin of new dialects)

This trichotomous division is criss-crossed by the division into a number of social dialects (or, caste-dialects), the main dichotomy being Brahman vs. non-Brahman speech, further by different kinds of slangs and argots as well as residues of tribal dialects. The Brahman vs. non-Brahman dichotomy is presently somewhat sharpened and the gulf between the two may widen on account of such cultural and political activities as the *taṉittamiḻ* movement, the activities of the DK and DMK etc.

2.1. In Bengali, a form analogical to the Tamil colloquial standard, the *calit bhāṣā,* has already entered literature with full support of such great men as Rabindranath Tagore and P. Chaudhuri. Colloquial Tamil, just as the *calit bhāṣā*, is fully adequate for all purposes of creative as well as technical literature, more than the Literary Standard itself, since it can freely and unscrupulously imbibe loans from different languages of the world and easily coin new terms itself. Some Tamil authors, notably the realists and the "progressive" authors, have advanced in the matter of adopting an approximation to the colloquial standards in their writings. Therefore, the investigation of the reflections of the colloquial language in contemporary Tamil prose should form an important part of the analysis and description of colloquial Tamil, together with the analysis of the possibilities how to employ standard Tamil orthography for the colloquial form of the language. Those authors who employ in their writings colloquial forms, have tried to solve this

matter, giving approximations to the colloquial pronunciation by current Tamil graphemes.[3]

2·2. The very existence of the colloquial form is denied by many speakers though they themselves use the colloquial constantly. These speakers, who, consciously and/or unconsciously, regard Literary Tamil as much superior to colloquial Tamil (in a number of respects) and speak about the colloquial (after they have reluctantly admitted its existence) as about a "vulgar, corrupt" etc. form, would, themselves, never dream of using the literary standard when speaking to their wives or children or friends, knowing well that they would become an object of ridicule. In a particular set of situations, only colloquial standard is appropriate, and vice versa.

Ferguson aptly described the attitude of those speakers who deny the very existence of a colloquial form, as a sort of self-deception. There is of course nothing "vulgar", nothing "corrupt" or "indecent" about the colloquial standard. It has been stressed several times that this colloquial standard is the language of the *educated* strata of Tamil population, and that it is *different*, both in phonology and vocabulary, from the really "vulgar" slangs and argots.[4] The attitude which

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[3] Cf. e.g. in one of the short stories by D. Jeeva we may read பயங் for CT (phonemic) payen, boy, or சம்பளங் for CT (phonemic) čampaḷon, wages.

[4] The true *koccai* may be heard, e.g., in the speech of riksha-drivers in Madras (ரிக்ஷாக்காரன் பாஷை). Between the colloquial standard and the *koccai* there are many differences; leaving apart the obvious differences in vocabulary, I may just touch on some phonological differences; thus, e.g. the Madras koccai has vauγu (vʌuγω), belly, versus colloquial vayγω (vʌiṛm), or maven (mʌvẽ), son, versus coll. maken (mʌγẽ),

denies to the colloquial standard its rights is very unreasonable: first, it is contrary to the objective and necessary development which will have its way, and, second, it is contrary to the today prevailing desire of the Tamils to have a full-fledged standard national language as an attribute of their autonomy. Standard Literary Tamil can n e v e r become such a national language: its evolution has come to a standstill long ago, it is non-productive, it has no inherent possibilities of inner development, it is not understood by the masses of the people, it cannot be accepted as an effective instrument of communication on all levels, it does not reflect, today, the real thinking and feeling of the people.

3. It has already been said that literary and colloquial forms (apart from local and social dialects) existed side by side, in Tamil, for a considerable period of time. Perhaps in the very deep past itself, during the time of *Tolkāppiyanār* (4th–3rd Cent. B.C.), such or similar differences, or at last the fundamental trichotomy, had existed; cf. the terms *centamiḻ*, or *ceyyuḷ*—literary language, versus *vaḻakku*—common colloquial speech, and *ticai*—local dialects.

One thing is beyond any doubt: the language of earliest Tamil inscriptions differs in some features from the language of contemporary literature, and the differences are of such nature that we are entitled to suggest that this epigraphical language reflects the s p o k e n language of the time; cf., only at random, such forms as *arecaru* (Vallam Inscription), king, where the *-e-* and the final *-u* clearly show the influence of the colloquial upon the orthography of this Pallava ins-

cription; or *konole* (Kāśakudi inscription of Nandivarman II), the edict of the king, for Standard Literary *kōṉōlai*, or *ceyivitta* (again Vallam Inscription) for SLT *ceyvitta*, also a colloquial form.

The study of inscriptional Tamil as well as ancient literature (e.g. the works of the *siddhars*) from this point of view of reflections of the colloquial language should form a very important part of the complex investigation of spoken Tamil.

4. The phonological changes of spoken Tamil result in a new phonological system of the language which is much nearer to the other two great languages of the South Dravidian group, i.e. Malayalam and Kannada. In other words, contemporary colloquial Tamil is much nearer to Kannada and Malayalam than contemporary literary Tamil (which shows, on the other hand, that standard literary Tamil has preserved many older forms). This might be demonstrated on a great number of instances; only at random I may quote Mal. *aḍiccu*, having beaten etc., cf. with SLT *aṭittu*, id., SCT *aṭiccu*; or SLT *akappai*, ladle SCT *a:pe*, id., Kannada *āpe*. For anyone who knows Malayalam, Kannada and colloquial Tamil and compares the three with Standard Literary Tamil, this thing becomes at once quite self-evident. However, it has its political and cultural aspects also; the adoption of colloquial Tamil as a national standard will serve—since it is much nearer to Malayalam and Kannada—for better understanding among the great Dravidian nations and will strengthen the political and cultural ties among them.

5. I should like to close this paper with a few terminological remarks, which will concern the Tamil terms of the items discussed in the paper.

5·1. The literary superposed variety, the standard literary Tamil based on *centamil*, may be called (as it usually is called) இலக்கியத் தமிழ் or இலக்கிய வழக்கு; when dealing with this language as a spoken form, we may call it மேடைப் பேச்சு or செப்பமான மொழி.

5·2. Substandard dialects generally may be called வட்டார மொழிகள் or பாமர மொழிகள்; they may be subdivided into local and regional dialects, in Tamil திசை வழக்கு and பிரதேச வழக்கு (e.g.) தூத்துக்குடித் திசை வழக்கு, the local dialects of Tuticorin, and தமிழ்த் தென்பிரதேச வழக்கு, Southern Dialects of Tamil, social dialects, in Tamil கிளை மொழிகள் or சாதி வழக்கு, tribal dialects, in Tamil குடிகள் மொழிகள், and, finally, slangs and argots, together கொச்சை.

5·3. The Standard Colloquial Tamil may be called, in analogy with *ilakkiyattamil* and *ialkkiyavalakku* பேச்சுத் தமிழ் or பேச்சு வழக்கு; however, I would suggest for this type of language the term பொதுப்பேச்சுத் தமிழ் or, simply, பொதுத் தமிழ், "the common Tamil", where பொது, "common", means a language which is the common property of all strata of the Tamil-speaking community and which will ultimately become a standard national Tamil language (தமிழ் நாட்டுச் செப்பமான பொது மொழி).

Ophir of the Bible—Identification

P. JOSEPH

When Solomon sent out his now famous expedition to Ophir, he could hardly have realised that his one attempt at giving his erstwhile land-locked state a maritime bias, with expert Phoenician nautical aid, was destined to arouse many a controversy among scholars several centuries later. Nor could the biblical writer, who narrated the incident, have dreamt that his pithy half a dozen verses[1] would turn out to be the happy hunting ground, during dozens of decades, of scores of savants trying to locate the destination of Solomon's sailors.

The ancient scribe, when referring to Ophir, saw no reason to enter into an elaborate elucidation of its whereabouts. Famed for its commerce, it was surely well known to his contemporaries. Places, however, have changed names, some a number of times, down the ages. Lacunae, moreover, have crept into the copies and translations of the Bible and there are no means of checking on them, as, meanwhile, the original apparently failed to survive the ravages of time. Hence the present plethora of theories on Ophir's identity.

Scholars have scoured the wide world for Solomon's Ophir and advanced the claims of such far-flung areas as Malaya, Ceylon, Arabia, East Africa, Somaliland, North Africa, Armenia, Spain, the West Indies and Peru. But the burden of opinion favours India, and that too Dravidian India, especially because some of the products, taken home by the expedition, namely timber[2] (botanically *chickrassia*

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1 III *Kings*, IX, 26-28; X, 11, 22; II *Chronicles*. VIII, 17-18; IX, 10. 21.

2 Joseph "Algummim or Almuggim of the Bible," *Tamil Culture* VI, 2, pp. 133-138;

tabularis), apes and peacocks[3] as well as ivory[4] bear Hebrew names unmistakably derived from Dravidian roots. Other items like gold, silver and precious stones, though not known in Hebrew by typical Indian names, went with the rest to decorate God's temple and adorn the king's palace and throne.

That the several references to the lavish use of precious metals and stones in ancient Indian literature, supported by Greek and Roman classical evidence, were no exaggeration has been amply proved by geological and other specialist studies. They have shown that, while several deposits had been fully exploited, many were abandoned half-worked and some left untouched, though known. The inference is irresistible that, whereas India was one of the largest suppliers of gold[5] and silver,[6] she was in antiquity the sole exporter of the vast majority of precious stones[7] to the west.

In India several places have been bestowed the honour of having received Solomon's men. One of them is Uvari, now a small fishing village near the mouth of the Tamiraparani river.[8] Its situation near Korkei, the Pandyan metropolis till the 9th. century B.C., when the capital was changed to Madurai, is significant. Etymologically Uvari is salt or salt-sea and could mean a port,—the port of Korkei, in much the same way as Ostia is the port of Rome. The antiquity of Korkei is attested by the epics. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata speak of pearls produced in the Tamiraparani and Kavata of the Pandyas. It had also an ancient conch industry.[9] These considerations must have led Dr. Caldwell

3 *Id.*, "Romance of Two-Tamil Words," *Tamil Culture*, VIII, 3, pp. 201 - 207;

4 *Id.*, "Indian Ivory for Solomon's Throne," *Tamil Culture*, IX, 3, pp. 271 - 280.

5 Ball, "A Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient India," *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, p. 229.

6 *Id.*, XXII, p. 232.

7 Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, pp. 555-563; Newbold, "*Summary of the Geology of Southern India*," J.R.A.S. (old series), IX, 1846; King, *Antique Gems: Their Origin, Uses and Value*.

8 Pandit Savariroyan, "The Bharata Land or Dravidian India," *Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 22, note.

9 Pate, *Gazetteer of the Tinnelvelly District*, pp. 235-236.

to conduct small trial excavations at the site. While urn burials, akin to those at Perumbair and Adichchanallur, were discovered, Dr. Caldwell found the geology of the place quite interesting and concluded that the delta must have been inhabited at least for the past 2500 years.[10]

The very reasons, however, that prove the region's antiquity, namely, its pearl and conch industries, seem to militate against the identification of Uvari with Ophir, for, had the Hebrews gone there, they would certainly have taken pearls and conch-shells with them. But these are conspicuous by their absence in the list of merchandise. To fall back on the notoriously migratory tendencies of the Mannar Gulf pearl mussel[11] and, to a lesser degree, of the conch to explain their omission in the biblical narrative would certainly not do, since their disappearance in Solomon's time is beyond proof.

One writer has staked the claim of another Uvari,[12] a fishing village, supposedly six miles off Kanya Kumari but actually 26 miles away. It is now one of the fish-yards of the Tirunelveli district. In support of its antiquity has been cited the existence of an old stone temple, which still attracts pilgrims from all around. When rain, it has been stated, washes down the huge sand-dunes of the place, people still pick up bits of gold,—one of the important products taken by the Ophir expedition. The antiquity, however, of the temple is doubtful; equally doubtful is the capacity of the region to have yielded gold worth 420 (£ 1,600,000) or 450 (£ 1,800,000) talents, mentioned in the Bible.

Most scholars who favour an Indian locale for Ophir are agreed that it was on the western coast. Some of them,

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10 Caldwell, "Explorations at Korkei and Kayal," *Indian Antiquary*. VI, p. 81. The recent find of microliths embedded in the nearby fossil sand-dunes has pushed back the date well into the 4th. millennium B.C. cf Zenner and Allchin, "Microlithic Sites of Tinnevelly," *Ancient India*, No. 12, pp. 4-20.

11 Tennent, *Ceylon*, II, pp. 560-561.

12 Thomas, "From Madura to Cape Comorin," *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, VII, pp. 675-676.

however, like Caldwell,[13] who quotes with approval Grant Duff, who in his turn records Ernest Renan's view, do not pin-point any particular place.

Among the specified localities may be noted Beypore.[14] While there is no resemblance in sound between the words Ophir and Beypore, some other similarity has been pressed into service. The country around Beypore has always been known as Ernad (the land of bullocks). In Sanskrit literature a region in western India was referred to as Abhira (the land of cowherds). From Abhira to Ophir is an easy transition.

The region surrounding Beypore could probably have produced the considerable quantity of gold mentioned in the Bible. Beypore lies at the mouth of the river of the same name. Its local appellation, *ponna pula* (gold river), is very significant. It washes down appreciable amounts of gold dust, while draining the south-eastern slope of Wynad, well known for its auriferous quarts formations.

Beypore's antiquity could be inferred from its proximity to Chataparamba, remarkable for its ancient stone monuments, widespread in South India. The people call them *Kode Kallu* (umbrella stone), a local variant on the general theme of structures, loosely styled dolmens.

There is a Jewish colony near Beypore and merits, no doubt, more than passing attention. The colonists' tradition goes back definitely to the time of Cyrus, the Persian monarch, who, in the 6th. century B.C. delivered the Jews from the Babylonian bondage. The original colonists, it has been surmised, were some of Solomon's sailors, who preferred the fertile land of Ophir to the comparatively arid wastes of Palestine. This first settlement, it has been affirmed, must have received periodical reinforcements; one such was the band of refugees who, instead of trekking across the desert

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13 Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 117, note.

14 Logan, *Manual of the Malabar District*, p. 248.

to Judaea from Babylon in the 6th. century B.C., took the boat to India.

The Beypore-Ophir equation, however, appears far-fetched. While there is no obvious likeness beween names, the attempt at calling in the aid of *abhira* to span the gap is too tortuous to be convincing. There is no evidence at all in local tradition that Ernad was called Abhira—a Sanskrit name. Small wonder, hence, that, while many have identified Abhira with some stretch of land in western India, none has gone in search of it as far south as Beypore. Granted, for argument's sake, that Ernad was known by the Sanskrit name, Abhira, it could not have been in Solomon's time, i.e. 10th. century B.C., for Aryan penetration that far into peninsular India had not taken place so early. Then again, *kode kallu* on present data goes only as far back as about three or four centuries B.C. Furthermore, to imply that the memories of the Jewish settlers around Beypore are short is unwarranted in the context of lack of contrary evidence.

Reland has put forward the case of Goa[15] as Solomon's Ophir. No worthwhile arguments have, however, been advanced. The theory itself has been based on two mistaken connections, one between Ptolemy's Gaoris river and Goa[16] and the other between Gaoris and Ophir.[17] None else supports this identification.

Several have canvassed vigorously the claim of Abhira as Ophir. But Abhira's location is none too precise ; the name has been given to a number of regions from the Indus mouth to north Konkan.[18] One of the protagonists has even tried to pick out a port of call in this indefinite expanse, namely, Barbaricum at Indus mouth.[19]

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15 Relandus, *Dissertationes Miscellaneae*. Pt I, pp 171, 174.

16 *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV, p 318, note 2.

17 cf Ritter, *Erdkunde Asien*, VIII, Pt II, p 386 ; Jahn, *Hebrew Commonwealth*, p. 517

18 cf. Krishnaswami Iyengar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, pp. 322-323 ; Mazumdar, *Hindu History*, pp. 28, 33 ; Chandorkar, "Khandesh and its Language," *Bharata Itihasa Samsodaka Mandala*, VII, p. 153.

19 Rawlinson, *Indian Historical Studies*, pp. 194-195.

From when was any portion of western India known by the Sanskrit name Abhira ? An etymological enquiry should help. While the word means the country of cowherds, the two derivations suggested, however we might twist them, do not bear it out : (1) *a* = around, *bhi* = fear, *ra* – give ; (2) *abhi* = near, *ra* = to let go.[20] But in Prakrit we get the word *ahir*, meaning cowherds. The Prakrits had more than a sprinkling of Dravidian words and *ahir* was certainly one of them,—*a* = cow, *ir*—plural termination (the aspirate is unknown in Dravidian). When *abhira* came into vogue, the ancient meaning was apparently remembered, but later commentators overlooked the original content of the root *a*, may be, because it was foreign to Sanskrit. Anyway, the non-occurrence of the word *abhira* in Vedic Sanskrit and its initial appearance in the classical Sanskrit of Mahabharata is instructive ; the word is not older than the epic period. What stretch of the western sub-continent was called Abhira in the 10th. century B.C. is difficult to decide. Of one thing we may be practically sure ; neither Kathiawar nor north Konkan could have had that appellation. Aryan penetration, as pointed out later,[21] had started in these parts only towards the end of the 2nd. millennium B.C. Enough time must be allowed for the development of local Prakrits, in whose vocabulary *ahir* would have figured, and for the coining and entry of the word Abhira into classical Sanskrit, which itself evolved out of the Prakrits.

The main drawback of all the foregoing theories is that they have tried to equate with Ophir some place bearing a similar name. Ophir, however, was not the original name of the destination of Solomon's mercantile marine but Sophir. This name appears in the oldest extant version of the Bible, i.e. the Greek or Septuagint. It was compiled in c. 280 B.C. and had for source an older Hebrew redaction, which unfortunately was lost subsequently. The current Hebrew version, later than the Greek, was the first to mistakenly introduce Ophir in place of Sophir and the Latin Vulgate, that copied

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20 *Amarakosha*, p. 322.
21 *Vide infra*, pp. 20.

it, perpetuated the error. The correct tradition, however, regarding Sophir was not lost. The Coptic and Arabic[22] versions of the Bible held on to it. The eminent Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, clarified it in his monumental work on the history of the Jews.[23] All the Greek[24] and some Latin[25] Fathers of the early Christian church elaborated it. A few profane writers[26] too helped preserve it.

That the Greeks kept the Hebrew tradition more intact than the Latins can never be overstressed. Of all the alien cultures with which the Hebrews came in contact during their long history the Greek, perhaps, influenced them most. Unlike the preceeding Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians and the succeeding Romans, the Greeks painstakingly introduced their culture into the lands they conquered and beyond. Hellenization of the then known world was a dogma with them and they deliberately spread it not by a blatant scheme of one-sided brain-washing but a subtle process of give and take. It got off, as far as the Jews went, to an auspicious start, when, on entering Jerusalam in 333 B.C., Alexander granted them autonomy both in Judaea and Babylonia and invited them to found a colony in the new Egyptian city founded by him,—Alexandria. It, hence, outlasted even the persecution campaigns, subsequently let loose by the Syrian Seleucids. This hellenizing process continued uninterrupted into the days of the Roman imperium, for, as the poet said, *Graecia capta ferum victorem coepit et artes intulit agresti Latic* : " conquered Greece took the ferocious victor captive and introduced the arts into rustic Latium."

The Jewish sect most affected by the Greek influence was that of the Sadducees, who controlled the priesthood of

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22 cf. Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta*, III, pp. 455-457; IV, *Esaias*, p. 37.

23 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Bk. VIII, c. VI, 4.

24 Basilius, *Commentarium in Isaiam Prophetam*, XIII, 12, see in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca, XXX*, col. 592; Procopius, *Commentarium in Isaiam Prophetam. XIII, 12*, see in Migne, *op. cit., LXXXVII*, Pt. II, Col. 2084.

25 Hieronymus, *Expositio Interlinearis in Librum Job*, see in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXIII, col. 1428; *Opera Sancti Hieronymi, Edit*, Vallarsi, III, pp. 130, 258, 275, see in Migne, *op. cit.*, XXIII, cols. 915, 922.

26 *Glossae Sacrae Heschii Graecae*, Edit. Ernesti, 1785, p. 250.

the Jerusalem temple and migrated all over the Greek world in search of not only wealth but also knowledge, unorthodox by normal Jewish standards. The traffic, however, was not one-way. Whereas the arrogant Roman despised things Hebraeic, the ever-enquiring Greek took a deep interest in them. Thus came about, for instance, the Greek translation at Alexandria, on Ptolemy's initiative, of the Hebrew scriptures, the Septuagint Bible, which became extremely popular with the Greek Fathers of the christian church. Thus also was assured the continuity between the Hebrew and Greek tradition. Hence, the high degree of reliability of the Septuagint and also of Josephus,—Hebrew by birth and Greek by culture,—in the matter of elucidation of obscure points, as e.g. that of Ophir.

Incidentally, to ask why the Greeks and the Latins, both of Aryan stock, reacted so differently to eastern influences seems worthwhile. The answer apparently lies in the difference of environment, geographical and historial. The Greeks, straddling, like the two-faced Roman god, Janus,—he could have more appropriately been a Greek god,—on the threshold to Europe, were better placed than the Latins farther west to drink deep at the fountain of oriental thought before passing it on to the other side. Moreover, the pre-Aryan Mediterranean cultures of Greece and Italy could not have affected in an equal manner the Aryan hordes that overran them. The farther removed from its eastern source a particular branch of Mediterranean culture was, the less virile it seems to have been. And so, the Achaeans and even the more barbarous Dorians after them were better schooled in the arts of peace by the Minoans and Mycenaeans than the Latins were by the Etruscans. The outcome ; whereas the Greek always had his face turned eastward, the thorougly extroverted Roman had little patience with the introverted oriental but looked rather towards the west, where he apparently found himself more at home.

To get back to the Ophir problem, two countries of the ancient world seem to have helped the Greeks carry on the

correct Hebrew tradition[27] and both had cultural and commercial contacts with India. The first was Phoenicia, the very country that had sent Solomon ships and sailors for the Ophir expedition and that must have passed on to the dominant Greeks information regarding its own maritime prowess in the palmy days of its illustrious ruler, Hiram, Solomon's contemporary and collaborator. Another country was Egypt, that had provided a heaven to the declining European Greek power, so that the latter could revive in the east the resplendent glories of the memorable Indian trade, a glimpse of which had been given it by the Phoenicians, it had supplanted, and which had lain almost dormant ever since Alexander's conquest of Tyre.

Since Hebrew tradition, as perpetuated in full by the Greeks and in part by the Latins, points to Sophir as the venue of the Judaeo-Phoenician mercantile marine, we must obviously look for a place with a name, that could be turned to Sophir in Hebrew mouths. In Sanskrit literature, both epic and puranic, a region called Sauvira or Sovira is mentioned. It has been variously identified. According to some it was situated between the Indus and the Jhelum and hence known as Sindhu-Sovira.[28] In the Markandeya Puranà Sindhu and Sovira are said to have been located in northern India along with Gandhara, Madra, etc.[29] Rapson says the two parts of the compound word were used separately to denote the same region. i.e. Sind.[30] Alberuni identifies Sovira with Multan and Jharawar.[31] Rhys Davids would have it in northern Kathiawar along the gulf of Kach[32]; he seems to rely on puranic evidence.[33] Cunningham thinks it was the district of Eder in Gujarat at the head of the gulf of Cambay.[34]

27 For Phoenician contacts *vide infra* pp. 22, 25-26 for Egyptian contacts cf. Heras, *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*. *Vol.* I, ch. III.

28 *Mahabharata*. *Bhisma Parva*, c. IX, v. 53.

29 *Markandaya Purana*, p. 315.

30 Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 168.

31 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I. pp. 300, 302.

32 cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, map facing p. 320.

33 *Bhagavata Purana*, Bk. I, C. X, v. 35.

34 Cunningham Mazumdar, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 570-572, 642-643.

Sovira, the foregoing identifications show, was seemingly more than one region from the Indus to north Konkan. Abhira too, it is interesting to note, was roughly in the same area. One is, therefore, constrained to admit that much of what was one was the other too. The protagonists, however, of the various theories regarding Abhira and Sovira always distinguished between the two.

Other points that emerge from the many identifications of Sovira are that the name referred mostly to a coastal region with a sizable hinterland and also that it indicated different localities at different times. Would it be possible to fix its limits during Solomon's time, i.e. 10th. cen. B.C. ?

From the 20th. to the 3rd. cen. B.C., when the historical period began, Indian pre-history was enveloped in the so-called Dark Age. A little gleam was, however, cast, around the 6th cen. B.C. with the advent of the culture represented by the northern black polished ware, widespread in northern India and gradually extending into the peninsula. Circumstantial evidence, gathered from political conditions in west-Asia and affinities between west-Asian and Indian material equipment, corroborated by Vedic and subsequent literature, point to Aryan inroads into India,[35] destruction of Harappa civili-

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35 Wheeler, who pioneered the archaeological evidence for the Aryan invasion mainly on the strength of cemetery H ware, now attributes Harappa's end mainly to recurring floods and desiccation (*Early Indio and Pakistan*, pp. 112-113). The change is due to debris layer intervening the Harappa and cemetery H cultures not only at the west gate and associated terraces of the Harappa citadel but also in the cemetery area, as shown by the trench stratigraphically connecting R. 37 (Harrapan) and H cemeteries (Lal, "Excavations at Hastinapura," *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 151 n. 1.). In Vats' earlier excavations, however, cemetery H ware turned up mixed with normal Harappan pottery (Sastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 74), indicating that the new-comers' habitation at the west gate (and burials in cemetery H) was later than elsewhere on the mound. Anyway, as stressed by Piggott (*Prehistoric India*, pp. 220, 226), what gave away the foreigners' presence in the Indus valley were not so much the clumsy-to-carry and, hence, local-made, though alien-inspired, pots and pans as their association with the easily portable shaft-hole axe, mid-ribbed spear and sword as also strangely designed seals, amulets and beads,—all bearing an unmistakable west-Asian stamp and unknown in India earlier. Their occurrence at e.g. Chanhu-daro and Mohenjo-daro cannot be due to normal trade, as they were found with squatters' dwellings' exotic pottery, huddled skeletons and tool-and-jewellery hoards—obvious signs of raid and insecurity. The ceramic evidence may by itself be non-committal but the rest cannot be explained away, much less ignored.

sation in the Indus valley, the foreigners' advance to the Gangetic basin and settlement in the northern plains during the Dark Age.[36] The period, therefore, of roughly 1500 years from 2000 B.C. could hardly have been conducive to peaceful trade in the Indus valley or its immediate neighbourhood, and Sovira, hence, could not have been in that area in Solomon's time.

Elsewhere, however, e.g. in Kathiawar[37]—Gujarat conditions were different. As attested by the archaeological remains of nearly fifty sites like Lothal,[38] Rangpur,[39] Rojdi,[40] Somnath,[41] Prabhas. Patan,[42] Pithadia,[43] Megham,[44] Telod,[45] Bhagatrav,[46] Hasanpur[47] etc.,—these, incidentally, have given a coastal orientation to Harappa culture,—what we may call its Kathiawar-Gujarat branch outlived its north-western counterpart. It, however, showed signs of deterioration due, no doubt, to diminuition of commercial prosperity,[48]

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36 Piggott, *op. cit.*, ch. VI and VII.

37 Saurashtra (Kathiawar) in the days of the Harappa civilisation is supposed to have been an island, cut off from the mainland by a sea extending right over Rajasthan (cf. Sankalia, *Indian Archaeology Today*, pp. 57, 68). There seems to be a confusion here between two distinct possibilities, apparently far removed from each other in point of time. The gulfs of Kach and Cambay could have been joined, in Harappan times, by the Nal lake, now largely a marsh, though adequate proof is needed to establish this surmise. But a Rajasthan-sea then is extremely unlikely. It could have been there in the geological age, known as the Tertiary, and receded as the result, as some geologists think, of a cataclysmic upheavel that shot up the Himalayas to present height and ushered in the Pleistocene. In any case, southern Rajasthan could not have been under water from the early stone age, as Soan tools have turned up there. The Vindhyan sandstone ripple-marks must, therefore, have been very much earlier. If however, Rajasthan came under water only after the early stone age, the sea could not have been there till 1000 B.C. (Lothal's upper limit), as south-east Rajasthan chalcolithic cultures existed in 1500 B.C.

38 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, p. 12; *Id.*, 1955-56, pp. 6-7; *Id.*, 1956-57, pp. 15-16; *Id.*, 1957-58, pp. 12-13; *Id.*, 1958-59, pp. 13-15; *Id.*, 1959-60, pp. 16-18.

39 *Id.*, 1953-54, p. 7; *Id.*, 1954-55, pp. 11-12.

40 *Id.*, 1957-58, pp. 19-20; *Id.*, pp. 19, 21.

41 *Id.*, 1955-56, pp. 7-8.

42 *Id.*, pp. 16-17.

43 *Id.*, 1957-58, p. 20.

44 *Id.*, p. 15.

45 *Id.*

46 *Id.*

47 *Id.*

48 *XXX* The late Harappan culture of Kathiawar-Gujarat, though seemingly not subjected to foreign raids, apparently lost, as evidenced by

following the fall of the Indus and Mesopotamian cities to raiders from the northern outskirts of civilisation.[49] The devolutionary process was possibly aided by elements that took advantage of the situation. That should explain the presence of the lustrous red ware in certain sites, Prabhas were in others and black-on-red,—so-called " chalcolithic, "—ware in yet others.

Whether the appearance of these diverse wares was due to local elements or those from neighbouring areas or even from outside the country is, on the present evidence, difficult to decide. But some of these data with others from south-eastern Rajputana, central India and the Deccan have been construed to point to Aryan authorship of the " chalcolithic " cultures there.[50] The whole chalcolithic complex, however, does not seem Aryan-inspired. The mud-brick houses of Ahar[51] and Gilund[52] (south-eastern Rajasthan) and the imposing mud-brick walls and burnt-brick (of almost Harappan dimensions) structure of the latter site seem to indicate a Harappan, perhaps degenerate, sub-stratum. The terracotta animal figurines from Gilund manifest the Harappan tradition, though to an inferior degree.

The short-blade industry, utilising such fine-grained stone as agate, chalcedony, etc., could have been started by the Harappans themselves with the locally available material, when, owing to invasions from the north-west, the Sukkur-Rohri source of the Harappan chert|flint-blade industry dried up. That would explain the almost alike manufacturing

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lack of inscribed seals, the art of writing. This trait of degeneration was, perhaps, a direct result of the fall in trade, necessitating considerable change in the way of life. As trade gave rise to writing (cf. Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 178), the loss of the former must have led to the disappearance of the latter, especially as the art of the scribe would have been the monopoly of the commercial community.

49 Indian trade with the west dwindled with Aryan drive into India, west-Asia and Europe. So did the eastern commerce of the Phoenicians, who thereafter concentrated on the Mediterranean (mostly western) and African regions. Only in the time of the Egyptian Ptolemys was there a revival of the eastern trade, which reached its zenith in the heyday of imperial Rcme.

50 Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

51 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, pp. 14-15.

52 *Id.*, 1959-60, pp. 41-46.

technique between the old blades and the new one, the shortness of the latter having, no doubt, been dictated by the nature of the material used,—the cores were smaller. Had the Harappans not begun the short-blade industry, they would have had no blade tools during the interval of a few hundred years between the Aryan arrival in Sind and that in Kathiawar-Gujarat, unless they continued their old chert|flint-blade industry with material from another source, say, Raichur,—for both of which propositions there is no evidence at present. That easy availability was the main criterion of choice of material is tellingly proved by the use at Maski, though a chalcolithic site, of chert|flint-blades,—not fine-grained ones,—from nearby Raichur.[53]

The same way would point the black-and-red pottery at Ahar,—it apparently knew no other,—and Gilund, Nagda[54] abd Navdatoli[55] (central India), Prakash[56] and Bahal[57] (Deccan), where it occurred in the earliest level. This ware was found at Lothal together with the commonly recognised Harappan ware right through the entire occupation and would seem, whatever its origin, to have been part and parcel of the Harappan ceramic outfit in Kathiawar-Gujrat, eastern Rajasthan, central India and northern Deccan.

Of the other types of pottery, e.g. the plain black, painted black, red, burnished grey and polychrome from Gilund the source of origin is at present unknown. The typical chacolithic ware, the black-on-red, is supposed to exhibit a painting repertoire reminiscent of Jhukar pottery,[58] that followed Harappan in Sind and that has been traced to the Aryans. But Jhukar designs themselves were made up the earlier Amri, Harappa and south Baluchistan ones[59] and, hence, need

53 For an instructive survey of the history and distribution of the blade-manufacturing technique from western Europe to India cf. Sankalia (and others), *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, pp. 58-65.

54 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, pp. 13-19.

55 Sankalia (and others), *op. cit.* pp. 86, 104, 127.

56 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, p. 13.

57 *Id.*, 1956-57, pp. 17.

58 Sankalia (and others), *op. cit.*, p.250.

59 Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

not have brought from west-Asia just then. The black-on-cream ware from the top-level of Gilund and from the first two periods of Navdatoli, with spotted animals and dancing humans, no doubt, recall Sialk I.[60] From Sialk I, nevertheless, to the top-layer of Gilund andNavdatoli I and II is a far cry, covering a span of almost 2500 years! More to the point could be the cut-spout basin of Gilund and the cut-spout bowl of Navdatoli.[61] The most relevant, however, seems the channal-spouted bowl from the latter[62] (period III), akin to a specimen in copper from the Khurdi[63] (central Rajasthan) hoard, for from Navdatoli III came also a copper dagger with a mid-rib,[64]—a technique unknown in the sub-continent until the Aryans brought it from west-Asia. A similar dagger or spear-head with mid-rib and antennae was recently recovered from Chandoli[65] (poona Dt.) and ascribed, as the first stratified occurrence of a weapon of its kind in the country, to 1100 B.C. The definitely Aryan elements in the chalcolithic cultures of Rajasthan, central India and the Deccan, therefore, are certainly the mid-ribbed sword and, perhaps, a couple of associated pottery types, which have not, however, been encountered so far in Saurashtra.

The archaeological evidence, hence, shows that towards the end of the 2nd. millennium B.C. Aryan influence had just begun trickling into peninsular India and not yet into Kathiawar-Gujarat. Here its full flood broke the banks of the Dravidian stream only around the 6th. cen. B.C. with the advent of the northern black polished ware culture, apparently the result of an amalgam of Aryan and Dravidian elements.[66] Sovira of the 10th. cen. B.C., therefore, must have obviously been

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60 Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

61 *Id.*, p. 81.

62 *Id.*, p. 86 and pl. II a.

63 *Id.*, p. 82 and pl. II b.

64 *Id.*, p. 91.

65 *Id.*, p 92 and pl. III b.

66 This fusion, no doubt the greatest achievement of the Dark Age, was brought about through a process of a highly cultured vanquished civilising the largely barbarian victor, as happened wherever the Aryan conqueror went. Hence could Toynbee say, with very good show of reason, that the Harappa kingdom was apparented to the Mauryan empire (which ushered in the historical period of India).

situated in this area. Was it, perhaps, the name by which the Kathiawar-Gujarat Harappa culture was known ?[67]

There is a special reason why the Ophir fleet would have gone to this region. Some scholars think that the Phoenicians of the Levant were the descendants of the Panis, a prominent pre-Aryan trading tribe referred to in the Rig Veda. The name Pani derived from the Dravidian word *panai*, the palmyra palm, which was their totem.[68] This palm grows in abundance along the Kathiawar-Gujarat coast, where the premier commercial community, known as the baniya, now dwells. Although the word *baniya* is generally derived from the Sanskrit *vanij*, meaning trade, it is not impossible that originally it came from *panai* and that subsequently an alternative derivation was sponsored after the aranization of western India. Whatever the derivation of *baniya*, the connection between *panai*, *Pani* and *Phoenician* seems clear. Since the Phoenicians manned the Ophir merchantmen,—the Jews had only a secondary role,—and their forbears had inhabited Kathiawar-Gujarat, the former could have gone nowhere in India except to their ancestral home, especially as the goods they went in search of could be got there with comparative ease.

According to the biblical story the expedition took three years to go to Ophir and get back. Expert seamen, the Phoenicians, no doubt, knew of the prevailing winds in the various seas they navigated. They would have left Eziongeber, on the gulf of Akaba, where the ships were built, in January-February with the north-east trade wind, that actually blows slightly from the north-west following the lay-out of the Red Sea and would have been at the straits of Babel-Mandeb by

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67 Fr. Heras ("The Kingdom of Magan," *B.C. Law Volume* I, pp.545-558) has hinted that *Magan* of the Sumerian documents is likely to have been India. But Glob (*Illustrated London News*, Jan. 11, 1958, p. 55) has pointed out that *Meluhha* was the Sumerian name of the Indus civilisation. Leemans "The Trade Relations of Babylonia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Vol. III, April, 1960, pp. 20-37) has identified *Meluhha* with western India, including Sind and Saurashtra Kramer (letter to the editor, *The Times of India*, Jan. 29, 1961), has, however, plumped for a *Dilmun*-Harappa equation.

68 Heras, *op. cit.*, I, p. 440; Autran, *Mithra, zoroastre et la Prehistoria Aryenne du Christianisme*, pp. 65-72.

April to be driven by the south-west monsoon to Kathiawar-Gujarat by about August.

They could not have commenced their homeward voyage with the returning monsoon in November of the same year, for they would then have had only about months to gather goods,—an almost impossible task in view of their quantity and variety. The cargo, moreover, was not readily available at port but had to come from a vast hinterland, even if we rule out the Indo-Gangetic plain in view of unsettled conditions following Harappa's fall in the north-west and the subsequent Aryan movement eastward.

Gold, for instance, had to be got from the alluvial washings of rivers like Cauvery (significantly called *ponni*) and also the Mysore mines and silver from Kadappa-Kurnool region, where it was regularly extracted from argentiferous galena. The sacred writer, recording the Ophir voyage, does not specify the precious stones but they must have been the same as were got by the Jews right from Mosaic times.[69] Though there is a confusion of names (e.g. their topaz was our chrysolite and vice versa[70] and their carbuncle was our emerald),[71] and though their emerald[72] and beryl[73] cannot be identified, yet we know what most of their names meant. In modern terminology the stones were agate, onyx, chalcedony, rock-crystal, sard, sapphire, tourmaline, emerald, jasper, amethyst, topaz and chrysolite. We can trace most of them to Indian sources,—agate to the Godavari, Krishna and Bhima river-beds and Rewa Kantha in north-east Kathiawar,[74] onyx (the most precious variety of agate) to the same places in the Deccan,[75] chalcedony to Vishakapatnam district,[76] rock-crystal to the Godavari basin, Hyderabad and

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69 *Exodus,* XXVIII, 17-20; XXXIX, 10-13.

70 Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible,* III, s.v. "topaz;" I, pt. I, s.v.

71 *Id.,* I, pt. I, s.v. "carbuncle."

72 *Id.,* I, pt. II, s.v. "emerald."

73 *Id.,* I, pt. I, s.v. "beryl."

74 Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India,* p. 240; Watt, *op. cit., pp.* 561-562.

75 Warmington, *op. cit.,* p. 241.

76 *Id.,* p. 242; Watt, *op. cit.,* p. 562.

Morvi,[77] sard to several peninsular sites,[78] sapphire (a kind of corundum) to Malabar, Salem, Cauvery and upper Godavari basins,[79] tourmaline (ligurius[80] of the bible) to a number of sources in the peninsular,[81] emerald (really a variety of beryl)[82] to Padiyur and Kangayam in Coimbatore district, Munnata in south-western Mysore and Vaniyambadi in Salem,[83] and jasper as well as prase or plasma (mother of emerald) to the Godavari, Krishna and Bhima river-beds.[84] Though the amethyst, topaz and chrysolite were not Indian products, they would have been found in Indian markets as imports from Ceylon. Timber (*almug* or *algum* of the bible) and apes would have come from the tropical forests along the western Ghats, peacocks from Gujarat and Kach and ivory from Mysore.

The return journey, hence, could have started only in October-November of the 2nd. year. By April of the 3rd. the sailors would have been in Babel-mandeb to be wafted by the south-westerly to Eziongeber by mid-year. Then would have followed a transhipment to camel caravan and an overland trek across Edom back to the king's court and thence to fond homes after a lapse of almost three years.

For the Phoenicians the Ophir voyage must have been a regular feature both for commercial as well as cultural reasons. The fatted calf might not have been slain to commemorate the return of the prodigals but celebrations there must have been to honour the visit of enterprising sons to the land of their origin. The Bible, largely concerned with the doings of the Jews, does not relate other peoples' affairs except in so far as the latter affect them. Hence we may not expect details of purely Phoenician Ophir trips. And yet the sacred book does seem to pass stray hints to such expedi-

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77 Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
78 *Id.*, p. 237-238.
79 *Id.*, pp. 247-248; Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 559.
80 Smith, *op. cit.*, II, s.v. "ligurius."
81 Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Watt, *op. qit.*, p. 563.
82 Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 556.
83 Warmington, *op. qit.*, pp. 250-251.
84 *Id.*, p. 254; Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

tions other than the one in Solomon's time, e.g. in David's,[85] —in which the Hebrews played no part. This is actually the first mention in the Hebrew scriptures of an Ophir sailing. To it the Greek historian, Eupolemus, seems to refer in the history of the kings of Judaea, written before the start of the christian era.[86] Commentators have said that Eupolemus in fact meant to speak of Solomon's enterprise and in error attributed it to David. There is, however, no reason at all to accuse the historian of an oversight. David had conquered Edom[87] and could very well have invited his friend, Hiram of Tyre, to open up, in preference to the hitherto used, rather hazardous, part-land and part-sea route to Ophir via the Persian gulf, a comparatively safe, almost wholly maritime one from the port of Eziongeber on the gulf of Akaba, especially as he was apparently to get a good portion of the gold brought back by the expedition. Details are obviously lacking in the Bible, since the Phoenicians sailed alone without their Hebrew neighbours. In view of Eupolemus' testimony the expression "Ophir gold," appearing in certain passages[88] of the scriptures from David's time and taken by some commentators to mean "fine gold," may point to actual Phoenician Ophir voyages.

Biblical scholars seem to think that Sophir was a region. The sailors, however, must have touched a port on the Kathiawar-Gujarat coast. The only port, so far archaeologically proven, to have boasted of a well laid-out, brick-built dockyard, complete with water-locks, spill-ways, loading-platform, wharves etc., is Lothal at the head of the gulf of Cambay and it is tempting to suggest it as the port of call. But as its old name is unknown,—Lothal, meaning "mound of the dead" is obviously a recent one—we have to skip it by. It could not have been the only port of the region. Others have yet to be discovered and will have to be looked for not along

85 I *Chronicles*, XXIX, 4.

86 Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Bk. IX, c. XXX, see in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXI, col. 748.

87 II *Kings*, VIII, 14; I *Chronicles*, XVIII, 12-13.

88 *Job*, XXII, 24; XXVIII, 15; *Isaias*, XIII, 12; *Jeremias*, X, 9; *Daniel*, X, 5. "Uphaz" in *Jeremias* is Ophir, say most exegetes.

the present coastline, but a little inland. On the Kathiawar-Gujarat and north Konkan coasts plenty of land has appeared as the result of a timid sea steadily retreating in the face of huge quantities of sand and silt deposited by swift-flowing streams. The formation of Bombay island is explained this way. Lothal's present inland situation is similarly accounted for.

The quest for a suitable port has led Rhys Davids to back the claims of ancient Roruka, later known as Roruva.[89] The capital of Sovira in the 7th. cen. B.C., it was an important centre of the coasting trade, with caravans from all over the country making their way thither. The exact site, however, has not been discovered, but Rhys Davids is almost certain that it was on the gulf of Kach somewhere near modern Khanagao. The main objection to this identification is that the biblical narrative gives no indication at all. Sophir is the only place-name mentioned and by no stretch of imagination can it be derived from Roruka.

That the venue of Solomon's men must have borne a name sounding close to Sophir is obvious, for otherwise some other place in addition to Sophir would have found mention in the Bible. Bearing this in mind some have ably sponsored the case of Sopara[90] (now called also Nala-Sopara), a village situated to the northwest of Bombay. The transition from Sopara to Sophir is easy. Hard as it is to visualise the modern, insignificant hamlet as the famous port at which Solomon's men called, Sopara of old was a different proposition. Incidentally, such visualisation would have been, but for the excavator's spade, even harder in Lothal's case, had it been actually the port in question.

An enquiry into Sopara's etymology is a necessary introduction to a discussion of its antiquity. In ancient Indian literature, of the two names,—Surparaka and Sopara,—referring to the same place the latter is a later form and hence

89 Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 116

90 McCrindle, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 127; Ritter, *Erdkunde Asien*, VIII, Pt. II, p. 386; Reinaud, *Memoir sur l'Inde*, p. 222; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, p. 227.

some have derived it from Surparaka, which in Sanskrit means "concerning a winnowing basket." But, as confirmed by inscriptional evidence, Surparaka appears only in late Sanskrit. The earliest form is Soparaka in Karla cave inscriptions (from 2nd. cen. B.C.); then comes Supparaka in Kanheri cave inscriptions and lastly Surparaka in Nasik cave inscriptions. This shows that Sopara was sanskritised into various forms, in the earliest of which the sanskritising process had left the first syllable intact and affected the termination. Moreover, Soparaka cannot be adequately explained; if *raka* means "concerning," *sopa* makes no sense. Sopara, it is clear, was the old pre-Aryan name of the place and its derivation must be sought in Dravidian thus: *so* = fortified, *par* = expanse, land, country. There seems to be very good reason for this derivation.[91] In a country with a hoary tradition of fortified cities that goes right back to the very dawn of civilisation, *vide* e.g. Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Indus basin, Kalibangan in the Ghaggar valley and Lothal in Kathiawar-Gujarat, and that is graphically testified to by Vedic references to the destruction of Dasyu strongholds, Sopara was only one among many. They remained a constant feature of the land till very late in history and their glory can still be glimpsed through the present, imposing ruins of some.

Apart from embodying in its very name one of the oldest traditions of the land, Sopara has its antiquity[92] adequately attested by Sanskrit literature which, doubtless, contains several pre-Aryan elements. In the Harivamsa Sopara's origin has been attributed to Parasurama in a story, that obviously refers to a recession of the sea and incidentally to the site's significance as a coastal town. A different version of the same story is told in the Skanda Purana. In the Ramayana Rama is said to have visited Surparaka. The existence at Sopara of Rama's pool, whose sacredness is spoken of in

91 Does this origin lurk in the word Saurashtra?

92 A good summing up of the evidence could be had in Braz. A. Fernandes, "Sopara: The Ancient Port of the Konkan." *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. I, pp. 66-77.

the Mahabharata,[93] is worth noting. In the same epic the Pandavas are said to have rested at Surparaka on their way from Gokarna in Konkan to Prabhas in Kathiawar. Surparaka is also mentioned in the Mahabharata in connection with Sagara[94] and Sahadeva.[95] Buddhist literature is full of references to Surparaka's pre-eminence as a commercial centre. The Punna legend makes mention of its merchant guilds and foreign trade.[96] Prince Vijaya, on his way to Ceylon, landed at the haven of Supparaka.[97] The Jatakas too refer to Sopara's commercial importance. As early as 1882 an Asokan edict was found at Sopara. Recently it yielded a fragment of edict IX.[98] This has given rise to the surmise that all the Asokan edicts must have originally been engraved in the neighbourhood of Sopara.[99] Small wonder Asoka chose it,—a busy port where people of diverse nationalities and faiths met,—to propagate the tenets of his religion. The cave inscriptions of Karla, Kanheri and Nasik, as already stated, contain references to Sopara and speak of its merchants making gifts to Buddhist monasteries.[100] The accounts of Greek[101] and Arab travellers carry the tale well into the christian era and testify to Sopara's importance as a commercial depot on the Konkan coast.

Sopara, it would seem, gave its name to the hinterland, for Sovira is apparently a corruption of Sopara. Sovira has retained unaltered only the initial syllable and *vira* has no suitable explanation. Because the words sounded almost alike, the Hebrews, who entered the region of Sovira through the port of Sopara mentioned their destination as Sophir in their narrative.

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93 *Mahabharata. Vana. parva*, c. 83, v. 43.

94 *Id. Santi Parva*, c. 48, v. 68.

95 *Id., Saba Parva*, c. 32, v. 67.

96 cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 56, 57 and 60.

97 Basham, "Prince Vijaya and the Aryanization of Ceylon", *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 163-171.

98 *Indian Archaeoloy—A Review*, 1953-54, pp. 29-30.

99 Sankalia, *Indian Archaeology Today*, p. 111.

100 Fernandes, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

101 Schoff. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 43; McCrindle, "Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia", *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, p. 325.

Now, to deal with an obvious objection, Pre-Aryan, it has been contended, is not necessarily Dravidian and Harappa language, not yet proved Dravidian, might have for ought we know, been Munda.[102] Without entering into the controversial field of the reading of Harappa language, one may arrive at a mainly Dravidian,—call it proto-Dravidian, if you like—authorship for Harappa through a process of elimination. The Munda-speakers, namely the proto-Australoids, who wove, no doubt, a part of the Harappan pattern, could not have played a dominant role. Today they live mostly in varying stages of palaeolithic environment. While admittedly the present provides no unerring indication to the past, yet to imply that the Munda-speakers, after having produced one of the grandest bronze-age civilisations of the ancient world, —in some respects like town-planning and sanitation the most advanced and in others e.g. dock-building actually unique,—largely lapsed into barbarism and even savagery seems, to say the least, a trifle naive. A priori, therefore, the Dravidian-speakers are by far the better contenders for the honour of makers of Harappa ; and the bible too, incidentally, gives its own clue, however slight, to that effect.

Had we a Phoenician account of the Ophir expedition, it would have cleared many a doubt for the Phoenicians knew India very much better than the Hebrews. Unfortunately we have none. The one Phoenician literary source, that referred to the Ophir voyage, was published by Wagenfeld at Bremen in 1837 under the title : *Sanchuniathonis Historiarum Phoeniciae Libri Novem Graece Versus a Philone Biblia.* This work was supposed to have been originally written by Sanchuniathon, alleged to have lived before the Trojan war and to have been a contemporary of Semiramis. We need not relate the history of the vicissitudes of this work. Suffice it to say that, when Wagenfeld published it, it aroused a huge controversy and was finally consigned to the scrap-heap of spurious documents.[103]

102 Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 181. This contention does not square up with the one on p. 147 that the proto-Australioids were under-dogs in Harappan society.

103 Tennent, *Ceylon*, I, pp. 571-577.

Finding Ophir in any country or region is, as Vigouroux so aptly puts it, a matter of appreciation.[104] Given the close resemblance between words, given the typically Indian products with typically Indian (Dravidian) names, given the Phoenicians were Indian emigrants to the west from Kathiawar-Gujarat and were the greastest carriers of the trade of the ancient world and given their ancestral home was part of the Harappa commercial kingdom, where the relevant merchandise was easily available, the conclusion seems to follow that Ophir, rather Sophir, was Sopara and Sovira in western India.

However impressive the literary evidence,—be it Indian, Hebrew or even Phoenician,—only archaeology can put the resulting inference on a firm footing. The question obviously arises : was Sopara a Harappan port ?[105] All indications point to an affirmative answer. But the excavator alone can have the final say and he apparently has a good enough case for wielding a productive spade at Sopara.

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104 Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Decouvertes Modernes en Palestine. en Egypte et en Assyrie*, III, p. 391.

105 Bhagatrav (on the Kim estuary), marking the southernmost extension, so far known, of the Harappa culture, is surmised to have been also a Harappan port.

வனப்பிலக்கியம்

வை. கா. சிவப்பிரகாசம்

I

தொல்காப்பியர் செய்யுளிலக்கணத்தை உணர்த்த முற்படுங்கால் செய்யுளின் உறுப்புக்கள் முப்பத்து நான்கு என்று செய்யுளியலின் தொடக்கத்திற் றொகுத்துக் கூறுகின்றார். அவர் விளக்கும் முப்பத்து நான்கு உறுப்புக்களையும் பின்வருஞ் செய்யுளியல் நூற்பா பெயரும், முறையும், தொகையும் புலப்பட எடுத்துரைக்கிறது :

> "மாத்திரை யெழுத்திய லசைவகை யெனாஅ
> யாத்த சீரே யடியாப் பெனாஅ
> மரபே தூக்கே தொடைவகை யெனாஅ
> நோக்கே பாவே யளவிய லெனாஅத்
> திணையே கைகோள் கூற்றுவகை* யெனாஅக்
> கேட்போர் களனே காலவகை யெனாஅப்
> பயனே மெய்ப்பா டெச்சவகை யெனாஅ
> முன்னம் பொருளே துறைவகை யெனாஅ
> மாட்டே வண்ணமோ டியாப்பியல் வகையின்
> ஆறு தலையிட்ட வந்நா லைந்தும்
> அம்மை அழகு தொன்மை தோலே
> விருந்தே யியைபே புலனே யிழைபெனாஅப்
> பொருந்தக் கூறிய வெட்டொடுந் தொகைஇ
> நல்லிசைப் புலவர் செய்யு ளுறுப்பென
> வல்லிதிற் கூறி வகுத்துரைத் தனரே"
>
> (தொல்: பொருள். செய. 1)

உரை மரபு

இந்நூற்பாவில் முப்பத்து நான்கு உறுப்புக்களையும் ஒரே தொகுதியாகக் கூறாது மாத்திரை முதல் வண்ணம் ஈறாகவுள்ள இருபத்தாறினையும் ஒரு தொகுதியாகவும், அம்மை முதல் இழைபு ஈறாகவுள்ள எட்டையும் பிறிதொரு தொகுதியாகவும் பிரித்துக் கூறியுள்ளார் ஒல்காப் பெரும் புகழ்த் தொல்காப்பியர். ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட எண்ணினை உடைய தொகுதியைப் பிரித்து இரு பிரிவுகளாக்கி இலக்கண ஆசிரியர் கூறுவரேல் அதற்கு யாதாயினும் ஒரு காரணமிருத்தல் வேண்டும் என எண்ணுவது இலக்கண உரையாசிரியர் மரபு. செய்யுளின்பம் நோக்கி அவ்வாறு

[* பாடம் : பொருள் வகை.]

பிரித்து இலக்கண ஆசிரியர் சில போது தம் கருத்தைக் கூறிய தாகக் கொள்ளல்கூடும். ஆயினும் அத்தகைய அமைப்பின் நுட்பம்மூலம் இலக்கண ஆசிரியர் உள்ளத்தையும், இலக்கண நுட்பத்தையும் காண முயல்வதே உரையாசிரியர் மரபும் மனப்பான்மையும் ஆகும். பயனுள்ளதாய் இருக்கும்வரை அம்மரபு போற்றற்குரியதேயாகும்.

உரை மரபொற்றுமை

'ஆறுதலையிட்ட அந்நாலைந்தும்' என்ற தொடரிற்கும், 'பொருந்தக்கூறிய எட்டொடுந் தொகைஇ' என்ற தொடரிற்கும் இளம்பூரணர், பேராசிரியர், நச்சினார்க்கினியர் ஆகிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் வகுத்த உரைகளில் அத்தகைய மரபு மனப்பான்மையில் ஒற்றுமையைக் காணலாம்.

> "எண்பெயர் முறை பிறப்புருவ மாத்திரை
> முதலீறிடை நிலை போலி யென்று
> பதம் புணர்ப்பெனப் பன்னிரு பாற்றது வே"

என்ற நன்னூற் சூத்திர உரையிலும் அத்தகைய மரபையும் மனப்பான்மையையும் காணலாம். ஆகவே, ஆசிரியன் உள்ளத்தை ஆராயும் மரபு வழிவழிவளர்த்த உரையாசிரியப் பண்பாடு என்றே புலப்படுகிறது.

இருதொகை விளக்கம்

இளம்பூரணர் வேறு தொகை கொடுக்கப்பட்டமையை விளக்குமிடத்துப், "பிற்கூறிய எட்டும் மேற்கூறிய இருபத்தாறினோடும் ஒரு நிகரனவன்மையின், வேறு தொகை கொடுக்கப்பட்டது. அவையாமாறு தத்தஞ் சூத்திரத்துக் காட்டுதும்" என்று சுருக்கமாகக் கூறுகிறார். பேராசிரியர் விரிவாக இதனை விளக்குகிறார். முதலாவதாக, மாத்திரை முதல் வண்ணம் ஈறாகவுள்ள இருபத்தாறும் ஒரு செய்யுளிலாயினும் பல செய்யுள் தொடர்ந்த வழியாயினும் ஒரோவொன்றாக வாராது. பல சேர்ந்து வரும். ஆனால் அம்மை முதல் இழைபு ஈறாகவுள்ள எட்டும் அவ்வாறன்றி ஒரோவொரு செய்யுட்கு ஒரோவொன்றே வரும். அன்றியும் இவை பெரும்பாலும் செய்யுள் தொகுதிக்கு உறுப்பாகும். இரண்டாவதாக, முதலிருபத்தாறும் ஒன்றோடொன்று பிணைப்புடையனவாக இருத்தலின் ஒன்றின்றி மற்றது அமையாது எடுத்துக்காட்டாக, எழுத்தின்றி அசை இல்லை; எழுத்தாலானதே அசை. அவ்வாறே அசைகளாற் சீர் உருவாதலின், அசையின்றிச் சீர் இல்லை. "எனவே ஒழிந்த உறுப்பு இருபத்தாறும் ஒன்றொன்றனையின்றி

அமையாவென்பது பெற்றும்" என்று பேராசிரியர் கூறும் உரை பொருத்தமுடையதேயாகும். ஆனால், பின்னைய எட்டும் அவ்வாறு ஒன்றொன்றனை இன்றியமையா என்று சொல்லமுடியாது. அவை ஒரு செய்யுளிலோ பல செய்யுட்களிலோ முதல் தொடக்கம் முடிவுவரை ஊடுருவி நிற்கும் அழகுப் பண்புகளே யாகும்.

நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கையும் பேராசிரியர் கொள்கையும் ஒற்றுமையுடையன வாகும். பின்வரும் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரைப் பகுதிகள் இவ்வொற்றுமையை விளக்கவல்லன.

> " இருபத்தாறு என்றும் எட்டுஎன்றும் இருவகையாற் றொகைகூறியது, இருபத்தாறுந் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுட்கு ஒன்றொன்றனை இன்றியமையாவாய் வருதலும், அவ்வெட்டும் பலசெய்யுட் டொடர்ந்த தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுட்கே பெரும்பான்மையும உறுப்பாய் வருதலும், தனிநிலைக்கண் ஓரோவொன்றாயும் வருதலும் அறிவித்தற் கென்க."
>
> —[தொல் பொருள்: செய்யுளியல் 1: உரைப்பகுதி]

> " இதன் தொகைச்சூத்திரத்துள் ஆறுதலையிட்ட நாலைந்துபெனக் கூறுபடுத்தி வேறுநிறீஇப்பின்னர் எட்டுறுப்பெனக்கூறிய தென்னையெனின் அவையொரோ செய்யுட்கோதிய வுறுப்பென்பதும் இவைபல செய்யுளுந்திரண்டவழி இவ்வெட்டுறுப்பும் பற்றித் தொகுக்கப்படு மென்பதும் அறிவித்தற் கெனக் கொள்க."

See elsewhere —[தொல்: பொருள்: செய்யுளியல். 235 உரைப் பகுதி.]

நச்சினார்க்கினியர் வனப்பைத் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுட்குக் கொள்ளுதற்குத் தடையொன்று கூறுகிறார். வனப்பைத் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுட்கும் கொள்ளின் மாத்திரை முதலிய இருபத்தாறு உறுப்புக்களின் அழகு தோன்றாது என்று அவர் கருதுவதாகத் தெரிகிறது. " இவ்வனப்பை யொரோ செய்யுளுட் கொள்ளின் மாத்திரை முதலியவற்றின் அழகு பிறவாதாம்" [செய்யுளியல்: 235: உரைப் பகுதி] என்ற சொற்கள் அவர் கருத்தை உணர்த்துகின்றன. ஆனால் வனப்புக் காரணமாக மாத்திரை முதலியவற்றின் அழகு பிறவாது என்ற கருத்து எவ்வளவிற்குப் பொருந்துமென்று புரியவில்லை. வனப்பு என்பது பல வுறுப்புத் திரண்ட வழிப்பெறுவதோரழகு என்றுதான் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கூறுகிறார். ஆகவே மாத்திரை முதலிய உறுப்புக்களில் ஒவ்வொன்றின் தனிநிலையழகும் வனப்பாகிய திரட்சியழகின்முன் மங்கிப்போகக் கற்போர் உள்ளத்தில் தனி நிலைச்செய்யுளின் தொகுதியழகே நிறைந்து நிற்கும் என்று அவர் கருதுகிறாரென உய்த்துணர வேண்டியுள்ளது. இவ்வாறு விளக்கின் அவர் கொள்கை ஒருவாறு ஏற்புடைத்து எனலாம்.

இலக்கணவகை விளக்கம் : ஒடுவின் பொருள் நுட்பம்

மூன்றும் வேற்றுமையின் பொருள் வகைகளைத் தொல்காப்பியர்,

" அதனி னியற லதற்றகு கிளவி
அதன்வினைப் படுத லதனி னாதல்
அதனிற் கோட லதனொடு மயங்கல்
அதனொ டியைந்த வொருவினைக் கிளவி
அதனொ டியைந்த வேறுவினைக் கிளவி
அதனொ டியைந்த ஒப்ப லொப்புரை
இன்னா னேது வீங்கென வரூஉம்
அன்ன பிறவும் அதன்பால வென்மனார் "

—[தொல் சொல் : வேற்று : 13]

என்ற நூற்பாவிற் கூறுகிறார். இவற்றுள் 'அதனொடு மயங்கல்' என்பதற்கு 'எண்ணொடு விராய அரிசி' என்பதைச் சேனாவரையர் எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறுகிறார். ஒரு நிகரனவல்லா எள்ளும் அரிசியும் கலந்திருத்தல் 'அதனொடு மயங்கல்' என்ற தொடரை விளக்குகிறது.

'பொருந்தக்கூறிய எட்டொடும்' என்ற தொடரில் எட்டொடும் என்பதிலுள்ள 'ஒடு', தொல்காப்பியர் கூறும் மூன்றும் வேற்றுமைப் பொருட்களில் 'அதனொடு மயங்கல்' என்ற பொருளையுடையது. ஆகவே எட்டொடும் என்ற இடத்து 'ஒடு'வை 'அதனொடு மயங்கல்' என்னும் பொருளில் ஆண்டிருத்தல், தொல்காப்பியர் மாத்திரை முதலிய இருபத்தாறும், அம்மை முதலிய எட்டும் ஒரு நிகரனவல்ல என்னும் கொள்கையுடையவர் என்ற கருத்தை விளக்குகின்றது. இதுவே தொல்காப்பியர் உட்கிடை என்று கொள்ளலாம்.

யாப்பலங்காரமா ? வனப்பா ?

எட்டுறுப்புக்களையும் தொல்காப்பியர் 'பொருந்தக்கூறிய எட்டு' என்றும் 'வனப்பு' என்றும் இருவகையாகச் சுட்டுகிறார். யாப்பருங்கல ஆசிரியர் இவற்றை, "அம்மை முதலிய வாயிரு நான்மையும்" (ஒழிபியல்) என்றும், அதன் பழைய உரையாசிரியர் 'அம்மை முதலிய எட்டு யாப்பலங்காரம்' என்றும் கூறுகிறார்கள். யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகையில் ஆசிரியர் அமுதசாகரனார் 'வனப்பு' (ஒழிபியல்) என்றே இவற்றைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். செய்யுளை இவை அலங்கரித்தலின் வனப்பை 'யாப்பலங்காரம்' என்று சுட்டும் வழக்குத் தொல்காப்பியருக்குப்பின் தோன்றியது போலும்.

எது வனப்பு ?

செய்யுள் உறுப்புக்கள் பலவும் ஒழுங்குபட அமைதலால் தோன்றும் தொகுதியழகே வனப்பாகும். பேராசிரியர் இதனை, "வனப்பென்பது, பெரும்பான்மையும் பல வுறுப்புத்திரண்ட வழிப்பெறுவதோர் அழகாகலின் அவ்வாறு கோடும்" என்று விளக்குகிறார். நச்சினார்க்கினியர், "இவற்றை வனப்பென்று பெயர் கூறிற்றுப் பலவுறுப்புந்திரண்டவழிப்பெறுவதோரழகாத லின்" (செய்யுளியல்: 235 : உரைப்பகுதி) என்று கூறுகிறார். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் சிந்தாமணியுரையிற் 'சமுதாய சோபை' என்று கூறுவதும் இத்தொகுதியழகையே யாகும்.

இரு வேறுநோக்குகள்

வனப்பு என்ற சொல்லின் பொருள்நுட்பம் மாத்திரை முத லிய இருபத்தாறையும், அம்மை முதலிய எட்டையும் இருதிறத்தன வாக வகுத்த நுட்பத்திறனை விளக்கவல்லது. தொல்காப்பியர் செய்யுளிலக்கணத்தைத் தனிநோக்கு, முழுநோக்கு என்னும் இரு கோணங்களிலிருந்து ஆராய்கிறார் என்பது அப்பொருள் நுட்பத்திறனாற் புலனாகின்றது. மாத்திரை முதலிய இருபத்தாறும் தனிநோக்காராய்ச்சியின் விளைவாகப் பிறந்த ஒரு தொகுதி. அம்மை முதலிய எட்டும் முழுநோக்காராய்ச்சியின் விளைவாகப் பிறந்த மற்றைய தொகுதி. உரையாசிரியர்கள் கருதுவதுபோல இம்முழுநோக்கு, தனிநிலைச் செய்யுட்கும், தொடர்நிலைச் செய் யுட்கும் பொருந்துவதே யாகும். ஆயினும் சங்க காலத்தில் ஒரு நிகழ்ச்சியை ஒரு துறையாக அமைத்துத் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுள் பாடும் போக்குத்தான் பெருவழக்கு. இராமாயணம், பாரதம் போன்ற தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுட்கள் பாடும் போக்குச் சிறு பான்மை என்றே கொள்ளவேண்டும். எனவே வனப்பெட்டும் பெரும்பாலும் தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுட்களுக்கே பொருந்துவன என்னும் கொள்கை உரையாசிரியர்களின் பிற்காலக் காவிய ஆராய்ச்சியின் விளைவு என்று கூறவேண்டும்.

II

தொல்காப்பியர் குறியீட்டு நுட்பம்

இலக்கணக் குறியீடுகளைப் பொருளாழமுடையனவாக அமைத்தல் ஒரு மரபு. தொல்காப்பியரும் இம்மரபைப் போற்றுப வரே. நிறுத்த சொல், குறித்துவருகிளவி, உயிர், மெய், செய்யுள் போன்ற குறியீடுகள் பொருளாழமுடையனவாகக் கூறவேண்டிய

இலக்கணக் கருத்துக்களை ஓரளவுக்கு விளக்குவனவாகத் தொல்காப்பியத்தில் அமைந்துள்ளன. அம்மை, அழகு, தொன்மை முதலிய எட்டும் அவ்வாறு பொருளாழமுடையனவாகவே உள்ளன. அவற்றின் பொருளமைதியை இயன்ற அளவு விளக்க உரையாசிரியர்கள் முயன்றுள்ளனர். எண்வகை வனப்புக்களையும் சுட்டும் குறியீட்டுச் சொற்களின் பொருளமைதி உணர்த்தும் உண்மைகள் யாவை? அவற்றை அவ்வவ் வனப்பின் சிறப்பியல்களோடு இயைபுபடுத்துவதில் உரையாசிரியர்கள் வெற்றியீட்டியுள்ளனரா? இவற்றை ஒவ்வொரு வனப்பையும் ஆராயும் போது காண்போம்.

அம்மை

எண்வகை வனப்பினுள் அடைவுமுறையில் முதலிற் கூறப்படுவது 'அம்மை'. அம்மை என்ற சொல் "அமைதிப்பட்டு நிற்றல்" என்னும் பொருளையுடைய குணப்பெயர் என்று பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் விளக்குவர். அம்மை, தாய் என்பன ஒரு பொருட் பன்மொழியெனக்கொண்டு, தாயின் குணம் அமைதித் தன்மையென்று கருதி 'அம்மை: அமைதிப்பட்டு நிற்றல்' என உரையாசிரியர்கள் விளக்கினரோ என்று எண்ண வேண்டியுள்ளது. பெண்மை அமைதித்தன்மை என்று பழைய உரையாசிரியர் ஒருவர் விளக்குதல் ஈண்டு நினைவுகூர்தற்குரியது. ஆயின் இத்தகைய விளக்கம் சங்ககாலத்திற்குப் பிற்பட்ட அம்மா என்ற சொல்லின் பொருளாராய்ச்சியால் விளைந்தது என்று கூறவேண்டும்.

அ, அம் என்பன அழகு என்னும் பொருளிற் சங்க இலக்கியங்களில் வருகின்றன. இனிமையென்னும் பொருளிலும் 'அம்' ஆளப்பட்டுள்ளது. எனவே அம்மை இனிமையும் அழகுமுள்ள இலக்கியவகை எனலாம். 'சின் மென் மொழியாற் சீர்புனைந்து யாப்பின்' என்ற தொடரில் 'மென்' என்னும் அடைமொழி புணர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளமையும் இவ்விளக்கத்திற்கு அமைதிதருகிறது.

அம்மையின் இயல்புகளைக் கூறும் நூற்பா பின்வருமாறு:

> "வனப்பிய றானே வகுக்குங் காலைச்
> சின்மென் மொழியாற் றாய பனுவலோ
> டம்மை தானே யடிநிமிர் பின்றே" —பேராசிரியம்

இளம்பூரணரும், நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் கொண்ட பாடங்கள் வருமாறு:

"சின்மென் மொழியாற் சீர்புனை ந தியாப்பின்
அம்மை தானே அடிநிமிர் வின்றே" —இளம்பூரணம்

"சின்மென் மொழியாற் றாய பனுவலி
னம்மை தானே யடிநிமிர் வின்றே" —நச்சினார்க்கினியம்

தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பாவின் சாரத்தை நோக்கின், சின் மொழியாட்சி, மென் மொழியாட்சி, தாயபனுவலுடைமை, அடி நிமிர்வின்மை என்பன அம்மை என்னும் இலக்கியவகையின் சிறப்பியல்புகள் என்பது புலனாகும். இளம்பூரணர் பாடத்தை ஏற்பின் 'சீர்புனையாப்புடைமை'யும் அம்மைக்குரிய சிறப்பியல்பு எனலாம். யாப்பருங்கல உரை, யாப்பருங்கலக் காரிகை இரண் டும் 'ஒள்ளியபொருளுடைமை'யும் அம்மையின் இயல்பு என்று கூறுகின்றன. தாயபனுவலிலக்கணமுடைமையையே அவை ஒள் ளிய பொருளுடைமை என்கின்றன போலும்.

சின் மொழியாட்சியை விளக்கும் பேராசிரியர் நச்சினார்க்கினி யர் இருவரும் 'சிலவாதல் : சொல்லெண்ணுச் சுருங்குதல்' என்ற கொள்கையை வற்புறுத்துகின்றனர்.

"பலசொல்லக் காமுறுவர் மன்ற மாசற்ற
சிலசொல்லல் தேற்றா தவர்"

என்ற வள்ளுவர் கோட்பாடு அம்மையின் இயல்பாய் அமைதல் நோக்குதற்குரியது. எனவே சுருங்கக்கூறல் என்னும் அழகு அம்மையில் அமைதல்வேண்டும் என்பது புலப்படும். அதனால் மற்றொன்று விரித்தல், வெற்றெனத் தொடுத்தல், நின்றுபய னின்மை என்னும் குற்றம்படச் சொற்களை ஆளலாகாதென்பதும் உய்த்துணரற் பாலது. இவற்றிலிருந்து அம்மை ஒருவகையிற் சூத்திர இயல்புடையது என்பது தெளிவாகின்றது.

மென் மொழியாட்சியை விளக்கும் பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க் கினியரும், அம்மையில் அமைய வேண்டிய சிலவாகிய சொற்கள் சில எழுத்துக்களால் அமைந்த குறுகிய வடிவினவாதல் வேண்டும் என்கின்றனர். 'மென்மை' ஓசை வேறுபாட்டை உணர்த்துமேயன்றிக் குறுக்கம் என்னும் பொருளையுணர்த்து மென்று கொள்ள இடமிருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. அம்மை ஒரு வகையிற் சூத்திர இயல்புடையது என்று தோன்றிய எண்ணம், "சில்வகை எழுத்தின் செய்யுட்டாகி" (மரபியல் : 646) என்னும் சூத்திர இலக்கணம் பற்றிய சிந்தனையால் வளர்ச்சிபெற, உரை யாசிரியர்கள் 'மென்மை : சில வெழுத்துடைமை' என்ற பிழை யான விளக்கந்தர நேரிட்டது என்று கொள்ளவேண்டியுள்ளது.

ஆகவே 'மென்மொழி' என்ற தொடர் மெல்லோசையைக் குறிக்கின்றது என்று விளக்குதலே பொருத்தம். அதனால், 'மெல் லிசை வண்ணம்' பயிலுதல் அம்மையின் இயல்பென்று தொல் காப்பியர் கூறுகின்றார் எனலாம்.

தாயபனுவலிலக்கணமுடைமையைத் தொல்காப்பியர் 'தாய பனுவலோடு' என்ற தொடரினாற் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். 'தாய', என் பது 'இடையிட்டுவந்த' என்றும், 'பனுவல்'* என்பது அறநூலி லக்கணம்' என்றும் பொருள்படுகின்றன. பேராசிரியரும் நச்சி னார்க்கினியரும் இவ்வாறு விளக்கம் தருவதில் ஒற்றுமையுடை யோராய்க் காணப்படுகின்றனர். இரு சொற்களின் பொருளை யும் இணைத்தால் 'தாயபனுவலோடு' என்பது 'இடையிட்டுவந்த பனுவலிலக்கணத்தானும்' எனப் பொருள்படும். 'இடையிட்டு வந்த பனுவலிலக்கணம் என்பது, அறம், பொருள், இன்பம் என் பனபற்றி உரைத்தலும், அவ்வாறு உரைக்கும்போது இடை யிடையே வேறு பொருள்பற்றிக் கூறுதலும் என்னும் இரு பகுதி களையுடையது. இவ்விருவகையியல்புகளுமுள்ள இலக்கியம் பதி னெண் கீழ்க்கணக்கு என்றே இவ்விரு உரையாசிரியரும் கருது கின்றனர்.

"நற்பனுவ லால்வேதத்(து)" [புறம்: 15: 17]

என்ற அடிக்கு, "நல்ல தருமநூலினும் நால்வகைப்பட்ட வேதத் தினும்" எனப்பொருள் கூறுதல் காண்க.

பனுவல் என்ற சொல்லிற்குச் 'சுகிர்ந்த பஞ்சு' என்னும் பொருளும் சங்ககாலத்திலிருந்தது. ஆகவே

"பஞ்சிதன் சொல்லாப் பனுவல் இழையாகச்
செஞ்சொற் புலவனே சேயிழையா—எஞ்சாத
கையேவா யாகக்கதிரே மதியாக
மையிலா நூல்முடியும் ஆறு"

என்ற பாட்டுக் கூறும் நூலியற்றும் பான்மையைத் தொல்காப் பியர் 'பனுவலோடு' என்ற சொல்லின் மூலம் குறிப்பாக—நுட்ப மாய் உணர்த்துகிறார் என்று எண்ணத் தோன்றுகிறது.

அம்மைக்குரிய மற்றச் சிறப்பியல்பு 'அடிநிமிர் வின்மை'. பேராசிரியர் ஐந்தடியின் மிகாமையே அடிநிமிர் வின்மை என் கிறார். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் ஆறடியின் மிகாமை என்கிறார். ஆனால்

* பனுவல் என்ற சொல்லிற்குப் புறநானூற்றின் பழைய உரையாசிரி யரும் 'தருமநூல்' என்று பொருள் கூறுகிறார்

இளம்பூரணர் எல்லை சுட்டவில்லை. அடிநிமிர்தல், அடியெண் பெருகுதல் என்ற பொருளிலேயே தொல்காப்பியரால் ஆளப்படு கின்றது. 'அடக்கியலின்றி அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகியும்', 'அடிநிமிர் கிளவி யீராறும்' என்ற தொல்காப்பியர் ஆட்சியை நோக்குக. எனவே, 'அடிநிமிர்தல்' சிலவடிகளால் இயற்றப்படுதல் என்ற பொருள் தொல்காப்பியர்க்கு உடன்பாடானதேயாகும். நால் வகைப் பாக்களிற் குறள் வெண்பாவே மிகச் சிறியது. ஆகவே, குறள் வெண்பாவிற்கே அம்மை என்னும் இலக்கிய வகைக்கு உரியதாகும் தகுதி பெரிதும் உண்டு. எனினும் சங்கப்பாடல்களை அடியளவின் அடிப்படையிற் பாகுபாடுசெய்து தொகைகள் ஆக் கிய சான்றோர் குறுந்தொகையையும் ஐங்குறுநூற்றையும் தொகுத்தபோது எட்டடியின் மிகா அகவல்களையும் ஆறடியின் மிகா அகவல்களையும் குறும்பாக்கள் எனக்கொண்டனர். ஆகவே, குறுந்தொகைக்கு உரைவகுத்த பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க்கினி யரும் எட்டடி எல்லையை அடி நிமிராமையின் விளக்கமாக ஏன் கூறவில்லையோ தெரியவில்லை.

அம்மையென்னும் வனப்பிற்குத் தொல்காப்பியர் திட்பநுட்ப மாகக் கூறிய இலக்கணத்தையும் அதன் விளக்கங்களையும் சுருக் கித் தருவதாயின் யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர் சொற்களாற் பின் வருமாறு கூறலாம் :

> " சிலவாய மெல்லியவாய சொற்களால் ஒள்ளியவாய
> பொருள்மேற் சிலவடியாற் சொல்லப்படுவது."

அம்மைக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாகத் தரப்படுவது குறள். தொல் காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்களும், பிற்கால யாப்புரையாசிரியர்களும் காட்டும் பாட்டு வருமாறு :

> " அறிவினா னாகுவ துண்டோ பிறிதினோய்
> தன்னோய் போற் போற்றாக் கடை "

குறளினும் சிறந்த எடுத்துக்காட்டை அம்மைக்கு உரியதாகக் காட்டலாமோ ?

அழகு

எண்வகை வனப்பினுள் இரண்டாவதாகக் கூறப்படுவது அழகு. அழகு " கண்டாரால் விரும்பப்படும் தன்மை நோக்கம் " என்பது திருக்கோவையாருரையிற் பேராசிரியர் கூறுவதிலிருந்து உய்த்துணரக்கூடிய கருத்து. எனவே, செய்யுட்குரிய நல்லியல்பு களையுடையதாய்ச் சொல்லாலும், பொருளாலும், அமைப்பாலும்

கற்போர் உள்ளத்தை ஈர்க்கும் ஆற்றல் பொருந்திய இலக்கிய வகையே அழகு எனலாம்.

இத்தகைய அழகென்னும் வனப்பின் இலக்கணத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர்,

> "செய்யுள் மொழியாற் சீர்புனைந் தியாப்பின்
> அவ்வகை தானே அழகெனப் படுமே"

[செய்யுளியல் 228]

என்று கூறுகிறார்.

செய்யுட்குரிய சொற்களாற் சீர்புணர்த்துத் தொடுத்தலே இதன் சிறப்பியல்பென இளம்பூரணர், பேராசிரியர், நச்சினார்க்கினியர் ஆகிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் விளக்குகின்றனர். ஓசையுடைமையும் அழகென்னும் வனப்பின் இயல்பென்று யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரையாசிரியர் ஆகியோர் கருதுகின்றனர்.

செய்யுண்மொழியாவன, இயற்சொல், திரிசொல், திசைச்சொல், வடசொல் என்னும் நான்கும் என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் கருத்து.

> "இயற்சொற் றிரிசொற் றிசைச்சொல் வடசொலென்
> றனைத்தே செய்யு ளீட்டச் சொல்லே"

[தொல்—சொல்—எச்சவியல. 1]

'செய்யுண் மொழி' என்ற தொடரை நச்சினார்க்கினியர், "வழக்குச் சொற்பயிலாமற் செய்யுளுட் பயின்று வருஞ்சொல்" என்று விளக்குதல் பொருத்தமாகவேயுள்ளது. அதனால், வழக்குச் சொல்லாகிய சேரி மொழி பயிலும் புலனென்னும் வனப்பின் அழகு என்னும் வனப்பு வேறுதல் புலப்படும்

ஆனால் பேராசிரியர் செய்யுண் மொழியைத் திரிசொற் பயிலாது செய்யுளுட் பயின்றுவரும் மொழி என்று கூறல் பொருந்தாது. திரிசொல் செய்யுட் சொல்லாதலின் அது செய்யுளுட் பயின்றுவரும்.

அம்மைக்கும் அழகுக்கும் உள்ள வேறுபாடொன்றைப் பேராசிரியர் விளக்குகிறார். அம்மை தாயபனுவல் இலக்கணமுடையது; அழகு அஃது இல்லாதது. அதனால் மூவடி முப்பது முதலாயின அம்மையின்பாற் படா வென்கிறார் பேராசிரியர். அம்மை, அழகு இரண்டின் இலக்கணங்களையும் கூறும் நூற்பாக்களை ஆழ்ந்து நோக்குமிடத்து வேறுவகையிலும் அவை வேறுபடுகின்றன என்பது புலனாகும்.

இத்தகைய அழகென்னும் வனப்பிற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக நெடுந்தொகை முதலிய எண் பெருந்தொகைகளையும் பேராசிரியர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் இருவரும் கூறுகின்றனர். சொல்லழகாலும், பொருளழகாலும், நுவலுந்திறனாலும், பல்லாற்றானும் கற்போர் உள்ளத்தை ஈர்க்கும் பேராற்றல் படைத்தன தொகை நூற்பாக்கள். கற்றறிந்தோரால் ஏத்தபபடுவனவும், மன்னர் மனத்தை மகிழ்வித்தனவுமாகிய தொகையெட்டையும் அழகு என்னும் வனப்பென்று கூறத் தடையுண்டோ ?

இளம்பூரணர், யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர், யாப்பருங் கலக்காரிகை உரையாசிரியர் ஆகியோர் காட்டும் எடுத்துக் காட்டு :

"துஞ்சுவது போல இருளி விண்பக* குறைய வாங்கி
மணிகிளர் அடுக்கல் முற்றிய எழிலி
காலொடு மயங்கிய கனையிருள் நடுநாள்
யாங்குவந் தனையோ ஓங்கல் வெற்ப
நெடுவரை மருங்கிற் பாம்பென இழிதரும்
கடுவரற் கலுழி நீந்தி
வல்லியம் வழங்குங் கல்லதர் நெறியே."

—[இளம்பூரணம்]

தொன்மை

மூன்றாவதாக விளக்கப்படுவது தொன்மை. தொன்மை என்ற சொல்லின் பொருள் பழைமை. பழைமைபோற்றும் அழகு தொன்மையிற் பொதிந்துள்ளது.

தொன்மையாவது உரைவிரவிப் பழையனவாகிய கதைப் பொருள்மேல் வரும் இலக்கியவகை. இதனைத் தொல்காப்பியர்,

"தொன்மை தானே,
உரையொடு புணர்ந்த பழைமை மேற்றே"

என விளக்குகிறார்.

உரையொடு புணர்தல் : உரை விரவி வருதல் என்று இளம்பூரணர், நச்சினார்க்கினியர், பேராசிரியர் மூவரும் விளக்கம் தருகின்றனர். ஆனால் திரு. க. வெள்ளைவாரணனார் அவர்கள் 'உரையொடு புணர்தல்' : நெடுங்காலமாகப் பலராலும் சொல்லப்பட்டு வருதல் என்று விளக்குகிறார்.

[* 'பௌவம்' என்பது யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கலக் காரிகை உரையாசிரியர் இருவரும் கொண்ட பாடம்.]

பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்பு, பாவின்றெழுந்த கிளவி, பொருள் மரபில்லாப் பொய்ம்மொழி, பொருளொடு புணர்ந்த நகைமொழியென உரைவகை நடை நால்வகைப்படும். அவற்றுள் பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்புச் சிறப்பாகத் தொன்மையின் இயல்பென்று கொள்ளுதற்குரிய தகுதி வாய்ந்தது.

பாண்டவ சரிதமும் இராம சரிதமும் தொன்மைக்கு இலக்கியமாக இளம்பூரணர், யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர் இருவராலும் காட்டப்படுகின்றன. பேராசிரியர் பெருந்தேவனாராற் பாடப்பட்ட பாரதத்தையும் தகடூர் யாத்திரையையும் காட்டுகின்றார். இவற்றோடு "சிலப்பதிகாரமும் அதன்பாற்படும்" என்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கூறுகின்றார். யாப்பருங் கலக்காரிகையுரையாசிரியர் மாபாரதம், காந்தம் போல்வன எடுத்துக்காட்டென்கிறார்.*

பாரதம், இராமாயணம், தகடூர் யாத்திரை என்பன பழைய கதைப்பொருள் மேலன. இவற்றுள் தகடூர் யாத்திரை 'பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்பு' உடையதென நச்சினார்க்கினியரும், பேராசிரியரும் கூறுகின்றனர். எனவே, தகடூர் யாத்திரை உரையொடு புணர்தல் என்னும் இயல்புள்ளதென்பது தெள்ளிதிற் புலப்படும்.

சிலம்பு தொன்மையா ?

"சிலப்பதிகாரமும் அதன்பாற்படும்" என்ற நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருத்து ஆராயற்பாலது. முதலாவதாகச் சிலப்பதிகாரத்திற் 'பாட்டிடை வைத்த குறிப்பு' என்னும் உரைவகை விரவியுள்ளது என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருத்து. இளம்பூரணர் கருத்துமிதுவே. ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவையுள்,

> "கயலெழுதிய இமய நெற்றியின்
> . . . .
> இடைமகள் முதுமகள் வந்துதோன்றுமன்"

எனவரும் பகுதியை இளம்பூரணர் எடுத்துக்காட்டாகத் தருகிறார். அடியார்க்கு நல்லாரும் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தை உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுள் என்கிறார். எனவே, 'உரையொடு புணரல்' ஆகிய இயல்பு சிலப்பதிகாரத்திற் காணப்படுகின்றது என்பது ஏற்புடைத்து. அதனால், சிலப்பதிகாரம் தொன்மையின்பாற்படும் என்ற எண்ணம் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உள்ளத்தில் முகிழ்த்திருத்தல் வேண்டும்.

* பெரிய புராணமுந் தொன்மையின்பாற்படும் என்று நாம் கொள்ளலாம்.

இரண்டாவதாகச், சிலப்பதிகாரக் கதைப் பொருள் நச்சினார்க் கினியர் காலத்திற்குப் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகட்கு முற்பட்டது. அதனால், சிலம்பு பழையகதைப் பொருள்மேலது என அவர் எண்ணுகிறார்போலும். ஆகவேதான், "சிலப்பதிகாரமும் அதன் பாற்படும்" எனக் கூறுகிறார் போலும்.

தொன்மைக்குரிய இருவேறு இயல்புகளில் உரையொடு புணர்தல் சிலப்பதிகாரத்திற் காணப்படுகின்றதென்னும் கருத்து ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளக்கூடியதே. ஆனால், 'பழைமை மேற்று' என்ப தற்கு உரையாசிரியர் தமது காலத்திற்கு நெடுங்காலம் முற்பட்ட கதைப்பொருள் மேலது எனப் பொருள் கொள்வரேல் அது பொருந்தாது. நூலாசிரியர் காலத்திற்கு நெடிதுமுன் வழங்கிய கதைப்பொருளது என்று பொருள் கொள்ளலே ஏற்புடைத்து.

சிலப்பதிகாரக் கதைப்பொருள் இளங்கோவடிகள் காலத் திற்குமுன் நெடுங்காலம் வழங்கிய ஒன்று என்பது நச்சினார்க் கினியர் கொள்கை எனக்கொள்ளலாமோவெனில் அவ்வாறு கொள்ளுவதற்குத் தடைகளுள.

சிலப்பதிகாரக் கதைப்பொருள் இளங்கோவடிகட்குமுன் வழக்காற்றில் இடம் பெற்ற ஒன்று என்று திருவாளர் ச. வையாபுரிப் பிள்ளையவர்களைப் போன்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் அன்று கருதியிருப்பாராயின் அவர் இளங்கோவடிகள் சேரன் செங்குட்டுவன் தம்பியல்லர் என்ற கொள்கையினரென்பதும், வஞ்சிக்காண்டத்தில் வரந்தருகாதையினிறுதியிற் கூறப்படும் தன வரலாறு கற்பனையே என்ற கொள்கையினரென்பதும் பெறப் படும். ஆனால் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் அத்தகைய கொள்கைகளைப் பின்பற்றக்கூடியவரல்லர். பழைய வரலாறுகளை நம்பி ஏற்கும் இயல்பினர் என்பது தொல்காப்பிய அரங்கேற்றம், முச்சங்க வரலாறு போன்றனபற்றி அவருரைகளிற் காணப்படும் குறிப்புக் கள் உணர்த்துகின்றன. எனவே, பழைமை விரும்பியும், புராணக் கதைகளை நம்புவோருமாகிய நச்சினார்க்கினியர் சிலம்பின் கதைப் பொருள் நூலாசிரியர் காலத்திற்கு முற்பட்டது என்னும் கொள் கையினர் என்று கொள்ளமுடியாது.

ஆகவே, நச்சினார்க்கினியர் 'பழைமை மேற்று' என்பதற்கு எவ்வாறு பொருள்கொண்டிருப்பினும், சிலப்பதிகாரம் தொன் மையின் பாற்படும் என்ற நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருத்து முழுமையாக ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளக்கூடியதன்று என்பது நன்கு தெளிவாகின்றது.

தோல்

நான்காவதாகக் கூறப்படும் வனப்பிலக்கியம் தோல் ஆகும். தோல் என்னுஞ் சொல்லின் பொருளைத் தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் விளக்கவில்லை. பின்வரும் குறளும் அதன் உரைகளும் 'தோல்' என்ற சொல்லின் பொருளையறிய உதவவல்லன :

"தொல்வரவும் தோலுங் கெடுக்குந் தொகையாக
நல்குர வென்னும் நசை"

—[குறள் : பொருட்பால் : நல்குரவு : 1043]

தோல் என்ற சொல்லுக்கு மணக்குடவரும், பரிப்பெருமாளும் 'வடிவழகு' என்றும், பரிதியார் 'சரீரம்' என்றும், காளிங்கர் 'வலி' என்றும் பொருள் கூறுவர். பரிமேலழகர் 'குடிவரவிற் கேற்ற சொல்' என்று பொருள் கொள்ளுவர். தமது கருத்தை விளக்கும்போது,

"தோலாவது 'இழுமென் மொழியால் விழுமியது நுவறல்' என்றார் தொல்காப்பியனாரும். இதற்கு உடம்பு என்று உரைப்பாரும் உளர் ; அஃது அதற்குப் பெயராயினும் உடம்புகெடுக்கும் என்றதற்கோர் பொருட் சிறப்பில்லாமை அறிக," என்று தெளிவு படுத்துகிறார். எனவே, தோல் என்னும் சொல்லிற்கு வலி, சொல், உடம்பு, வடிவழகு என்ற விளக்கங்கள் தரப்படுகின்றமை புலனாகும். இவற்றுள் தோல் : வடிவழகு என்றுகொள்ளல் ஈண்டுப் பொருந்தும். அதனால் தோல் என்னும் வனப்பு வடிவழகுடைய இலக்கியமென்று கூறலாம்.

தோலின் இலக்கணத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர், "இழுமென் மொழியான் விழுமியது நுவலினும் பரந்த மொழியான் அடி நிமிர்ந்தொழுகினும் தோலென மொழிப தொன்னெறிப் புலவர்" என்று கூறுகிறார்.

இழுமென்னும் ஓசையையுடைய சொற்களால் விழுமிய பொருளைக் கூறுவனவும், பரந்த மொழியினால் அடிநிமிர்ந்து வரத்தொடுக்கப்படுவனவும் எனத்தோல் இருவகைப்படும். இது தான் இளம்பூரணர், பேராசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கல உரையாசிரியர், யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரையாசிரியர் ஆகியோர் கொள்கை. கொச்சகத்தான் இயற்றப்படுவன, அகவலான் இயற்றப்படுவன எனத் தோல் இருவகைப்படும் என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கை. ஆனால் இருவகை இயல்பும் ஒருங்கு சேரப்பெற்றதே தோல் என்பது அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் கொள்கை.

ஆகவே, இழுமென் மொழியாப்பு, விழுமிய பொருளுடைமை, பரந்த மொழியுடைமை, அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகல் என்னும் நான்கும் தோல் என்னும் இலக்கியவகையின் சிறப்பியல்புகள் என்பது புலனாகும்.

'இழுமென்மொழி' என்பதை இழுமென்ற மெல்லிய வாய சொல், குவிந்து மெல்லென்ற சொல் என்று உரையாசிரியர்கள் கூறுவர். ஒழுகிச் செல்லும் ஓசையின் இனிமை, ஒத்திசையின்பம் சான்ற சொற்களே இழுமென் மொழிகளென்று கூறலாம். சங்க இலக்கியங்களிலே இத்தகைய ஒழுகிசையையே 'இழுமென்ளுேசை' என்று சான்றோர் கூறுவர்.

ஆகவே, ஆற்றொழுக்குப் போன்ற ஓசையின்பம் 'தோல்' என்னும் இலக்கியத்திற்கொரு சந்தச்சிறப்பை அளிக்கிறது. 'ஒழுகிசைவண்ணம்' என்று தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுவது இத னையே. அதனால், ஒழுகிசைவண்ணம் தோலின் சிறப்பியல் பாதல் தெளிவாகும்.

'விழுமிய பொருள் பயத்தல்' என்பதை அறம், பொருள், இன்பம், வீடு பயத்தல் என்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் விளக்குகிறார். மக்கள் வாழ்வைப் பண்படுத்த உதவும் உயர்ந்த கருத்துக்களே (Sublime Ideas) விழுமிய பொருள் என்று கொள்ளல் பொருந்தும். பழைய கதையைப் புதிதாகக் கூறல் தோலின் பொருளாக இருக் கலாமென நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் பேராசிரியரும் கருதுகின்றனர்.

'பரந்த மொழி' என்பதைப் பரந்து வல்லென்ற சொல்லென அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் கூறுவர்; எல்லாச் சொற்களுமென யாப் பருங்கல, யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரையாசிரியர்கள் கூறுவர். தொல்காப்பியர் உட்கிடை தெளிவாயில்லை.

'அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகல்' என்பதை நச்சினார்க்கினியர், 'ஆசிரியப்பாவான் அடி நிமிர்ந்து வருதல்' என்று விளக்குகிறார். யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியாசிரியரும், யாப்பருங்கலக்காரிகை உரை யாசிரியரும் 'அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகல்' 'பலவடியாய்க்கிடத்தல்' என்கின்றனர். இவ்வகையில் அம்மையும் தோலும் இருதுருவங்க ளாக வேறுபட்டுக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன. அம்மையின் சிறப் பியல்பு அடிநிமிராமையாயிருப்பத் தோலின் சிறப்பியல்பு அடி நிமிர்தலாக அமைகின்றது.

அம்மைக்குரிய அடிநிமிராமைக்கு அடிவரையறை சுட்டிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் அடிநிமிர்தலுக்கு அவ்வாறு வரையறை

செய்யவில்லை. கருதலளவையால் அது பெறப்படும் என வெண்ணினர் போலும். சங்கப் பாடல்களை அடியளவின் அடிப் படையில் தொகுத்த சான்றோர் நீண்ட பாடல்களை 'நெடுந் தொகை' என்னும் நூலாகத் தொகுத்தபோது பதின்மூன்று அடியையே சிற்றெல்லையாகக் கொண்டனர். எனவே, அடிநிமிர் கிளவியின் சிற்றெல்லையாகப் பதின்மூன்று அடியைக் கொள்ள லாம். தொல்காப்பியர் பரிபாடலுக்கு நானூறு அடியையும் அக வலுக்கு ஆயிரம் அடியையும் பேரெல்லையாகக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். அவற்றையே அடிநிமிர்தலுக்கு அவ்வப்பாவிற்குரிய பேரெல்லை யாகக் கொள்ளலாம்.

நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொச்சகத்தாற் செய்யப்படுவனவற்றிற்குச் சிந்தாமணியையும் ஆசிரியப்பாவாற் செய்யப்படுவனவற்றிற்குத் தேசிகப்பாவையும் எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறுவர்.

இளம்பூரணர், குணசாகரர், யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியாசிரியர் ஆகியோர் காட்டும் பாட்டு வருமாறு :

> "பாயிரும் பரப்பகம் புதையப் பாம்பின்
> ஆயிர மணிவிளக் கழலுஞ் சேக்கைத்
> துணிதரு வெள்ளந் துயில்புடை பெயர்க்கும்
> ஒளியோன் காஞ்சி யெளிதினிற் கூறின்
> இம்மை இல்லை மறுமை இல்லை
> நன்மை இல்லை தீமை இல்லை
> செய்வோ ரில்லைச் செய்பொரு ளில்லை
> அறிவோர் யாரஃ திறுவழி யிறுகென"

—மார்க்கண்டேயனார் காஞ்சி

இதனை இழுமென்மொழியால் விழுமியது நுவலல் ஆகிய தோலிற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டென்பர். பரந்தமொழியான் அடி நிமிர்ந்தொழுகும் தோலிற்கு, "திருமறை தலைஇய இருணிற விசும்பின்" என்னும் தொடக்கத்தையுடைய கூத்தராற்றுப் படையை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கூறுவர்.

அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் சிலப்பதிகாரம் தோலின் இலக்கணம் முழுவதும் அமைந்த நூல் என்பர். கானல்வரி, வேட்டுவவரி போன்ற பகுதிகளால் இழுமென்மொழியாப்புச் சிலம்பில் அமைந் துள்ளமை புலனாகும். விழுமியது நுவலுந்திறன் பதிகத்தில் வரும்.

"அரைசியல் பிழைத்தோர்க்கு அறங்கூற் றுவதூஉம்
உரைசால் பத்தினிக் குயர்ந்தோர் ஏத்தலும்
ஊழ்வினை உருத்துவந் தூட்டும் என்பதூஉம்
சூழ்வினைச் சிலம்பு காரண மாக
சிலப்பதி காரம் என்னும் பெயரால்
நாட்டுதும் யாமோர் பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுள"—

என்ற பகுதியாற் புலப்படும்.

சிலம்பின் காதைகள் நீண்ட ஆசிரியப்பாவாய் அமைந்திருத்தல் அந்நூல் 'பரந்த மொழியான் அடிநிமிர்ந்தொழுகல்' என்னும் பண்புடையதென்பதை விளக்குகின்றது. இவற்றால் தோலின் இயல்புகள் சிலம்பில் அமைந்திருக்கும் பான்மை தெளிவுறுகின்றது.

விருந்து

ஐந்தாவது வனப்பிலக்கியம் விருந்து. விருந்து புதுமை என்பர் பரிமேலழகர். "புதியன கண்டபோது விடுவரோ புதுமை காண்பார்" என்பர் கம்பர். எனவே, பொருள், உருவம், கூறும் முறை என்னும் இவற்றிற் புதுமையழகு கனிந்துள்ள இலக்கியங்களே விருந்து எனப்படும்.

"விருந்தே தானும்,
புதுவது புனைந்த யாப்பின் மேற்றே"—

என்று விருந்திலக்கியத்தின் இயல்பை விளக்குகிறார் தொல்காப்பியர்.

இளம்பூரணர், "புதிதாகப் புனைதலாவது ஒருவன் சொன்ன நிழல் வழியன்றித்தானே தோற்றுவித்தல்" என்று தெளிவுபடுத்துகிறார். இளம்பூரணார் தரும் விளக்கம் புதுமையின் தத்துவத்தை மிக அழகாக இயம்புகின்றது.

பேராசிரியர், "புதுவது கிளந்த யாப்பின் மேற்று என்றது புதிதாகத் தாம் வேண்டியவற்றாற் பல செய்யுளுந் தொடர்ந்து வரச்செய்வது" என்று விளக்குகிறார்.

பழைய கதையைப் புனைந்து கூறுவன விருந்தாகா, புதிதாகப் படைக்கப்பட்ட கதைகளைக் கூறும் தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுளே விருந்தென்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கை.

யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியாசிரியரும், குணசாகரரும் இக்கொள்கையையே வேறு சொற்களால், "விருந்து இப்பொழுதுள்ளாரைப் பாடும் பாட்டு" என்று கூறுகின்றனர்.

பேராசிரியர், நச்சினார்க்கினியர் இருவரும் முத்தொள்ளாயிரம், கலம்பகம், அந்தாதி முதலியவை புதுமை இலக்கியங்கள் என்பர். தொண்ணூற்றாறுவகைச் சிற்றிலக்கியங்களும்—சிறு பிரபந்தங்களும் விருந்து என்னும் வனப்பைச் சார்ந்தன எனலாம். இக்கால இலக்கிய வகைகளிற் சிறு கதை, நெடுங் கதை, தன் வரலாறு போன்றன விருந்தின்பாற் படும்.

இவ்வாறு புதுமை விருந்தின் உயிர் நிலையாயிருப்பினும் அது பழைமையில் வேர்கொண்டதென்னும் உண்மை நினைவு கூர்தற்குரியது. தமிழிலக்கிய வகைகளின் வளர்ச்சியை ஆராய்வதன்மூலம் இவ்வுண்மையை நன்குணரலாம். எடுத்துக்காட்டாக உலாவென்னும் இலக்கிய வகையின் வித்து,

> "ஊரொடு தோற்றமும் உரித்தென மொழிப
> வழக்கொடு சிவணிய வகைமையான"
>
> [தொல் . பொருள் : புறத்திணை : 83]

என்ற நூற்பாவிலுள்ளமை காண்க.

இயைபு

ஆறாவது வனப்பிலக்கியம் இயைபு. இயைபே புணர்ச்சி *[தொல் : சொல் : உரி : 308]* என்பர் தொல்காப்பியர். இயைபென்று தொல்காப்பியர் பெயர் சூட்டிய காரணத்தால் இவ்வகை இலக்கியத்திற் சொல்லும் பொருளும் இயைந்து செல்லும் என்னும் உண்மை உய்த்துணரப்படும். பொருட்டொடராகவேனும் சொற்றொடராகவேனும் இவ்வகை இலக்கியம் அமையும். ஞகரம் முதல் னகரம் இறுதியாகவுள்ள பதினொரு மெய்களால் இறுதலே இயைபின் சிறப்பியல்பு.

> "ஞகாரை முதலா னகாரை ஈற்றுப்
> புள்ளி யிறுதி இயைபெனப் படும்."

மணிமேகலை, உதயணன் கதை என்பன பொருட்டொடர் இயைபு என்பர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். இவை னகர ஈற்றன. எஞ்சிய ஈற்று இலக்கியங்கட்கு உரையாசிரியர் ஒருவர்க்கும் எடுத்துக்காட்டுக் கிடைக்கவில்லை. சொற்றொடர் இயைபாவது 'இக்காலத்தார் கூறும் அந்தாதி' என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியம். ஆனால், பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் ஐந்தாம் பத்து சொற்றொடராதல் காண்க.

இயைபிற்கும் தோலிற்கும் வேற்றுமை காண்கின்றனர் பேராசிரியரும் நச்சினார்க்கினியரும். தோல் பெரும்பாலும்

உயிரீற்றதாய் வருமென்றும் இயைபு மெய்யீற்றதாய் வருமென்றும் கூறி இரண்டின் வேறுபாட்டையும் அவர்கள் விளக்குகின்றனர். ஆனல், தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பா தோலின் ஈறு பற்றியோ அதற்கும் இயைபுக்குமுள்ள வேற்றுமை பற்றியோ ஒன்றும் கூறவில்லை. இவ்வேறுபாடு காணப் பேராசிரியர்க்கும், நச்சினர்க்கினியருக்கும் ஆதாரமாயிருந்த இலக்கண இலக்கியச் சான்றுகள் யாவையென்று புலப்படவில்லை.

புலன்

ஏழாவது வனப்பிலக்கியம் புலன் எனப்படும். கற்றோர்க்கும் மற்றோர்க்கும் எளிதிற் பொருள் புலப்படுமாறு தெரிந்த சொற்களால் இயற்றப்படும் இலக்கியம் புலனாகும். குணசாகரர் சொற்களாற் கூறுவதாயின், 'புலன் என்பது இயற்சொல்லாற் பொருடொன்றச் சொல்லப்படுவது' ஆகும்.

"சேரி மொழியாற்* செவ்விதிற் கிளந்து
தேர்தல் வேண்டாது குறித்தது தோன்றிற்
புலனென மொழிப புலனுணர்ந் தோரே"

என்று இதன் இலக்கணத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர் வகுத்துள்ளார்.

'சேரிமொழி' என்பதைப் பாடிமாற்றம் என்று நச்சினர்க்கினியர் விளக்குகிறார். வட்டார வழக்கும் பேச்சு வழக்கும் செறிந்த கூத்திலக்கியங்களையும், எளிமை படைத்த பிற இலக்கியங்களையும் 'புலன்' எனத் தொல்காப்பியர் வகுத்துள்ளார் என்று கொள்வதில் தவறில்லை.

புலனுக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக விளக்கத்தார் கூத்து முதலிய வெண்டுறைச் செய்யுள் போன்றவற்றைக் கொள்ளலாம் என்பது பேராசிரியர் நச்சினர்க்கினியர் ஆகியோர் கொள்கை.

யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியாசிரியர், குணசாகரர், இளம்பூரணர் மூவரும் பின்வரும் பாட்டை எடுத்துக்காட்டாகத் தருகின்றனர்,

"பாற்கடல் முகந்த பருவக் கொண்மூ
வார்ச்செறி முரசின் முழங்கி யொன்னார்
மலைமுற் றின்றே வயங்குதுளி சிதறிச்
சென்றவ டிருமுகங் காணக் கடுந்தேர்
இன்றுபுகக் கடவுமதி பாக வுதுக்காண்
மாவொடு புணர்ந்த மாஅல் போல
இரும்பிடி யுடைய† தாகப்
பெருங்காடு மடுத்த காமர் களிறே"

[* 'தெரிந்த மொழியாற்' என்பது இளம்பூரணர் கொண்ட பாடம்.]

[† 'உழைய' என்பது யா. விருத்தியாசிரியர், குணசாகரர் இருவரும் கொண்ட பாடம்.]

இப்பாட்டு வழக்குச் சொல்லினுல் இயற்றப்பட்டதென்றோ ஆராயாமற் பொருளை உணர்த்துகின்றதென்றோ கூறல். பொருத்தமா என்பது ஐயமாக உள்ளது.

இன்றைய இலக்கியத்திலிருந்து எடுத்துக்காட்டுக் கூறுவ தாயின் 'எல்லோரும் புரியக்கூடிய நடை எல்லோரும் புரியக் கூடிய சந்தத்தில்' கவி மலர்கள் தொடுத்த விடுதலைக் கவிஞர் பாடல்களையும் அவரைப் பின்பற்றிய கவிஞர் பாடல்களையும் எடுத்துரைத்தல்வேண்டும்.

பானை சோற்றிற்கொருபதம் :

> "யாமறிந்த மொழிகளிலே தமிழ் மொழிபோல்
> இனிதாவ தெங்கும் காணும்
> பாமரராய் விலங்குகளாய் உலகனைத்தும்
> இகழ்ச்சி சொலப்பான்மை கெட்டு
> நாமமது தமிழரெனக் கொண்டிங்கு
> வாழ்ந்திடுதல் நன்றோ சொல்லீர்
> தேமதுரத் தமிழோசை உலகமெலாம்
> பரவும் வகைசெய்தல் வேணடும்"

இழைபு

இறுதியாக, விளக்கப்படும் வனப்பிலக்கியம் இழைபு ஆகும். ஒப்பு, திரிபு, சார்பு என்பனபோல இழைபு என்பதும் 'பு' என் னும் ஈற்றுத் தொழிற் பெயராகும். இழைத்தல் என்பது செய்தல், அமைத்தல் என்று பொருள்படும்.

குறளடி முதலிய ஐந்தடியினையும் அமைப்பதால்—இழைப்ப தால் அழகு பொதுளும் இலக்கியமே இழைபு. தொல்காப்பியர்,

> "ஒற்றொடு புணர்ந்த வல்லெழுத் தடக்காது
> குறளடி முதலா வைந்தடி யொப்பித்து
> ஓங்கிய மொழியான் ஆங்கவன மொழுகின்
> இழைபின் இலக்கணம் இயைந்த தாகும்"

என இழைபின் இலக்கணத்தை இயம்புகிறார்.

எனவே, வல்லெழுத்துப் பயிலாமை, ஐவகையடிகள் பயிலல், ஓங்கிய மொழியாட்சி, பொருள் புலப்பாடு என்ற நான்கும் இழைபின் சிறப்பியல்புகள் என்று கொள்ளல்வேண்டும்.

வல்லெழுத்துப் பயிலலாகாது என்றமையின் வல்லிசை வண்ணம் நீக்கப்படல் வேண்டுமென்பது பெறப்படும்.

இழைபுகலி, பரிபாடல் போன்ற இசைப் பாட்டாகிய செந்துறை மார்க்கத்தது என்று பேராசிரியர், நச்சினார்க்கினியர் இருவரும் கருதுதலும் ஈண்டு நோக்கற்பாலது.

ஐவகையடிகள் பயின்று வரலாவது, நான்கு முதல் இருபது எழுத்துவரையில் இருக்குமாறு எழுத்தெண்ணி வகுக்கப்பட்ட குறளடி, சிந்தடி, நேரடி, நெடிலடி, கழிநெடிலடி என்னும் கட்டளையடிகள் அமைந்து வருதலாகும். இப்பகுப்பு ஆசிரியப் பாவிற்குரியமையின் இளம்பூரணரும் அவர் கொள்கையினரும் ஆசிரியப் பாவொன்றை இழைபிற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாகத் தருகின்றனர்.

'ஓங்கிய மொழி' என்பது நெட்டெழுத்துக்களாகிய சொல் லென்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருதுகின்றார். ஆகவே 'நெடுஞ்சீர் வண்ணம்' பயின்றுவரல் இழைபிற்குரிய சிறப்பியல்பென்று கொள்ளலாம்.

'ஆங்கனம் ஒழுகின்' என்று தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடுவதால் பொருள் எளிமை இழைபிற்கும் பொருந்துமென்பது உரையாசிரியர்கள் கொள்கை. அதனால், எளிமை இழைபிற் குரிய சிறப்பியல்பு என்று கொள்ளலாம்.

தொல்காப்பியர் 'இழைபு' இசைத்தமிழென்ற கருத்தினராய் அதன் இலக்கணத்தை ஈற்றிற் கூறுகின்றார் என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கை. அன்றியும் யாப்பருங்கலம் முதலியவற்றிற் கூறப்பட்ட சித்திரக் கவியாகிய மிறைக் கவியின் இலக்கணம் ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியராற் கூறப்படவில்லையென்றும் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருதுகின்றார். இதுவும் பிற்கால அலங்கார ஆய்வின் விளைவென்றே தோன்றுகின்றது.

இளம்பூரணரும் அவர் கொள்கையினரும் தரும் எடுத்துக்காட்டு :

"போந்து போந்து சார்ந்து சார்ந்து
தேர்ந்து தேர்ந்து மூசி நேர்ந்து
வண்டு சூழ விண்டு வீங்கி
நீர்வாய் கொண்டு நீண்ட நீலம்
ஊர்வாய் ஊத வீச ஊர்வாய்
மதியோர் வண்டோ டொல்கி மாலை
நன்மணங் கமழும் பன்னெல் லூர
அமையோர் மென்றோள் ஆயரி நெடுங்கண்
இணையீர் ஓதி யேந்திள வனமுலை

இறும்பமல் மலரிடை யெழுந்த மாவின்
நறுந்தழை துயல்வருஉஞ் செறிந்தேந் தல்குல்
அணிநடை யசைஇய வரியமை சிலம்பின்
மணிமருள் வணர்குழல் வளரிளம் பிறைநுதல்
ஒளிநிலவு வயங்கிழை யுருவுடை மகளிரொடு
நளிர்முழவு முழங்கிய வணிநிலவு மணிநகர்
இருந்தளவு மலரளவு சுரும்புலவு நறுந்தொடை
கலனளவு கலனளவு கலனளவு கலனளவு
பெருமணம் புணர்ந்தனை யென்பவஃ
தொருநீ மறைப்பின் ஒழிகுவ தன்றே''

[இச்செய்யுளின் பாடம் பலவாறு வேறுபட்டுள்ளது.]

இப்பாட்டில் ஐவகையடியும் மயங்கி வருதலும், வல்லொற்றுப் பயிலும் வல்லிசை வண்ணம் அமையாமையும், ஓங்கிய மொழிகள் ஒருவாறு வருதலும் காண்க.

இதுகாறும் கூறியவற்றுற் 'பொருந்தக் கூறிய எட்டு' என்று தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடும் எண்வகை வனப்பிலக்கியங்களின் இயல்புகள் ஓரளவிற்குத் தெளிவாகும்.

III

தொல்காப்பியர் கால இலக்கிய ஆராய்ச்சியின் பெற்றியை யும் போக்கையும், எண்வகை வனப்புக்கள் பற்றிய தொல்காப் பியர் சிந்தனைகள் நமக்கு ஓரளவுக்கு விளக்குகின்றன. பண்டைய மரபுக்கியையத் தொல்காப்பியர் தம் சிந்தனைப் பிழிவை நூற்பாக்களில் திட்பநுட்பமாகத் தருகிறுர். அவர்க்குப் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகளின்பின் வாழ்ந்த உரையாசிரியர்கள் அவர் எண்ணக் குவியலை விளக்கப் பெரிதும் முயன்றுள்ளனர். உரையாசிரியர்களிடையே காணப்படும் கருத்து வேறுபாடுகள் தெளிவுபெறுவதற்கு ஓரளவுக்குத் தடையாகவுள்ளன.

இலக்கியத்தின் பொருளும் நோக்கமும்

இலக்கியத்தின் பொருள் வாழ்க்கை என்பதுதான் தொல் காப்பியர் கொள்கை. மக்களின் உணர்ச்சிகளும், செயல்களும், அகப் போராட்டங்களும் புறப் போராட்டங்களும், கனவுகளும் நனவுகளும் இலக்கியத்தின் பொருளாகத் தொல்காப்பியரால் விளக்கப்படுகின்றன. அகப்பொருள், புறப்பொருள் என்ற இரு பெரும் பிரிவுகள் முதற்பொருள், கருப்பொருள், உரிப் பொருள் என்ற பாகுபாட்டின்கீழ், பலதுறைகளாக விரித்துரைக் கப்படுவன இலக்கியத்தின் பொருளை மிகநுட்பமாக விளக்கு கின்றன.

இலக்கியம் உயர்ந்த நோக்கமுடையதாய் இருத்தல்வேண்டு மென்பது தொல்காப்பியர் கொள்கை. 'இழுமென் மொழியான் விழுமியது நுவலினும்' என்று அவர் கூறுவதிலிருந்து பொது வாக உயர் நோக்கமுடையதாய் இலக்கியம் அமைதல் வேண்டு மென்று உய்த்துணரலாம்.

பாகுபாடு

இலக்கியத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர் பாச் செய்யுள் உரைச் செய்யுள் எனப் பகுக்கின்றார் என்பது செய்யுளியல் உணர்த்தும் உண்மை. ஆனால் தொல்காப்பியரின் வனப்பிலக்கியச் சிந்தனை களை நோக்குமிடத்து வேறு வகையிலும் அவர் பாகுபாடு செய் கின்றாரோ என எண்ண வேண்டியுள்ளது. செய்யுளைத் தனிநிலைச் செய்யுள், தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுள் என்று பகுக்கலாமெனவும், தொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுளைச் சொற்றொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுள் (அந்தாதி), பொருட்டொடர் நிலைச் செய்யுளென்று பகுக்கலா மெனவும் தொல்காப்பியர் கருதியிருத்தல் வேண்டுமென்பது உரையாசிரியர் கொள்கை. 'இயைபு' என்ற சொல்லின் பொருளாழமே இத்தகைய கொள்கைக்கு அடிப்படையாயுள்ளது. மேலும், தண்டியலங்காரப் பாகுபாட்டை உரையாசிரியர் தொல் காப்பிய ஆய்வில் இணைத்திருத்தலும் கூடும்.

அளவு

இலக்கியத்தின் அளவுபற்றித் தொல்காப்பியர் திட்பமான வரையறை யெதுவும் செய்யவில்லை. பாவகைகளின் அடிவரை யறையைக் கூறியிருப்பினும் இலக்கியவகை ஒவ்வொன்றின் அளவையும் அவர் வரையறை செய்யவில்லை. அடி நிமிர்ந் தொழுகல், அடிநிமிராமை, குறளடி முதலா ஐவகையடியும் பயிலல் என்று சில இலக்கிய வகைகளின் அளவைச் சுட்டிச் செல் கின்றார். குறுமை, நெடுமை என்பன பொதுவியல்புகளாதலின் உரையாசிரியர்கள் வேறுபட்ட அளவுகளைக் குறிக்கின்றனர்.

நடை

இலக்கிய நடை எத்தகையதாய் இருத்தல்வேண்டும்? எளிமையா கடுமையா இலக்கியத்தைச் சிறப்பிப்பது? தொல் காப்பியர் சிந்தனைகள் சில உங்கட்கு இடந்தருகின்றன. 'புலன்' என்ற வகைபற்றித் தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுவதிலிருந்து பொருட் புலப்பாடு ஆகிய எளிமை இலக்கியத்தைச் சிறப்பிக்கவல்லதென அறியலாம். 'அழகு'பற்றி அவர் கூறுவன அரிதின் பொருள்

உணர்த்தும் கடுமைக்கும் அவர் இடமளிக்கின்ருரோ என எண்ணத் தூண்டுகின்றன. ஆனல், இலக்கியத்தை இயம்பும் முறையில் எளிமையிருப்பினும் கடுமையிருப்பினும் கவர்ச்சியிருத்தல் வேண்டுமென்பது தொல்காப்பியர் கொள்கை. வனப்பிலக்கியம்பற்றிய அவர் சிந்தனைகளில் இக்கருத்து ஊடுருவியிருத்தலை நுண்ணிதின் நோக்குவோர் உணர்வர்.

சொல்லாட்சித் திறன்

இலக்கியத்தின் நடையை உருவாக்குவன சொற்களை ஆளுந் திறனே. அதனல், சொல்லாட்சித்திறன் இலக்கியத்தின் சுவையைச் சிறக்கச் செய்யும் என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் கருத்து எனலாம். பல்வகை இலக்கியப் பிரிவுகளிலும் ஆளப்படவேண்டிய சொற்களிவையெனத் தொல்காப்பியர் விளக்கந்தருகின்ருர். சின்மென்மொழி, செய்யுண்மொழி, இழுமென்மொழி, பரந்தமொழி, சேரிமொழி, ஓங்கியமொழி ஆகிய இத்தனை வகைச் சொற்களையும் தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடுகிருர். இவற்றை இலக்கியத்தில் ஏற்ற இடங்களில் ஆசிரியன் ஆள்வதால் ஆற்றல், இசைநலம், சுவைநலம், பொருணலம், பொலிவு, போன்ற பண்புகள் அமைந்து இலக்கியத்தைச் சிறப்பிக்கின்றன என்று உய்த்துணரலாம்.

ஆற்ஜெழுக்கு

இலக்கியத்திற் சொல்லும் பொருளும் தொடர்புடையனவாக —இயைபுடையனவாக ஒழுகியமைதல்வேண்டும். இத்தகைய தொடர்புடைமையால் நீரோட்டம்போன்ற இலக்கிய ஒழுக்கு விறுவிறுப்பை ஊட்டி இலக்கியத்தின் சுவைநலத்தைப் பெருக்கும். 'இயைபு' என்ற சொல்லின் புதைபொருள் இவ்வுண்மையை உணர்த்துகிறது.

கற்பனை

கற்பனையென்பது ஒன்றைக்கூறும் முறையிலுள்ள அழகு. இதனைப் 'புனைதல்' என்றும் கூறலாம். 'சீர் புனைந்தியாப்பின்' என்ற தொல்காப்பியத் தொடர், கற்பனை இலக்கியத்திற் பெறும் இடத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர் எவ்வாறு போற்றுகிருர் என்பதை உணர்த்தவல்லது.

வண்ணம்

இலக்கியங்களின் ஓசைவேறுபாடுகளைத் தொல்காப்பியர் வண்ணமென்று குறிக்கிறார். பிற்காலத்தார் இதனைச் சந்தம் என்பர். ஓசைநலனும் இலக்கியச் சுவையைப் பெருக்கவல்லது என்பதைக் கண்ட தொல்காப்பியர் பாஅவண்ணம் முதல் முடுகுவண்ணம் ஈறாக உள்ள இருபதும் இலக்கியத்தில் இடம் பெறும் பான்மையை விளக்குகிறார். எண்வகை வனப்புக்களிற் பயின்றுவரும் மொழிகள் இவை என்று தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுவன வற்றிலிருந்து எவ்வனப்பு எவ்வண்ணமுடையதென்பதை அறிய முடிகிறது. ஆகவே, இலக்கியச் சுவையாராய்ச்சிக்கு வண்ண மும் இன்றியமையாதது என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் துணிபு என்று கொள்ளல்வேண்டும்.

பழைமையா ? புதுமையா ?

இலக்கியத் துறையிலும் ஏனைய துறைகளிலுள்ளதுபோலவே பழைமைக்கும் புதுமைக்கும் போராட்டம் இருந்துவருகிறது. பழையனவேண்டா புதியனவேண்டும் என்பர் புதுமைப்பித்தர் கள். பழையனவே நல்லன, புதியன அல்லன என்பர் பழைமை போற்றுவோர். இரு துருவங்களையும் இணைக்கும் வகையில் தொல்காப்பியர் கொள்கை வகுக்கிறார். பழையனவும் புதியனவும் வளர்ச்சிக்கு இன்றியமையாதன என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் துணிபு. 'தொன்மை மறவேல்' என்று தொன்மையென்னும் வனப்புப் பேசுகிறது. ஆக்கத்திறனுக்கும் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கும் புதுமை ஓரறைகூவல் என்கிறது 'விருந்து' என்னும் வனப்பு. ஆகவே, உமாபதி சிவாச்சாரியார் கூறுவதுபோலத்,

> "தொன்மையவாம் எனுமெவையும் நன்றாகா இன்று
> தோன்றியநூல் எனுமெவையும் தீதாகா"

—[சிவப்பிரகாசம் : பாயிரம்]

என்று தொல்காப்பியர் கருதுகிறார் எனக் கொள்ளல்வேண்டும். இது தொல்காப்பியரின் இலக்கிய ஆய்வின் அடிப்படை.

பேச்சுமொழியா ? செம்மொழியா ?

இலக்கியம் பேச்சு மொழியிலியற்றப்படவேண்டுமா ? செம் மொழியில் இயற்றப்படவேண்டுமா ? என்பது இன்றைய இலக்கியப்போர். இப்போரினால் விளையும் தடுமாற்றத்திற்கு முடிவு காண்கிறார் தொல்காப்பியர். சிலவகை இலக்கியங்கள்

செம்மொழியிற் படைக்கப்படலாம்; சில பேச்சுமொழியிற்—சேரிமொழியிற் படைக்கப்படலாமெனப் பாலமமைக்கிறார் தொல்காப்பியர். கூத்திலக்கியத்தில் உரையாடல்களை அமைக்கும்போது கல்லாதார் பேச்சுக்கள் செம்மொழியில் நிகழ்கின்றன எனக் காட்டுதல் கூத்திலக்கணத்திற்கே முரணாகும். எனவேதான், கூத்திலக்கியம் போன்றவற்றிற் சேரிமொழி பயிலலாமென்பதை உணர்த்தும் வகையில் புலனின் இலக்கணத்தைத் தொல்காப்பியர் வகுத்துள்ளார். 'மக்கள் பேச்சிலிருந்து உயிர்பெற்று மக்கள் பேச்சிற்கு உயிர்கொடுப்பது செய்யுள்' என்ற டி. எஸ். எலியற்றின் கொள்கையைத் தொல்காப்பியர் அன்றே வகுத்து விளக்கம் தந்தார் என்று கொள்ள இடமுண்டு. இது தொல்காப்பியரின் பரந்த மனப்பான்மைக்கு உரைகல்.

வாழும் இலக்கியம் படைக்க வழிவகுத்த தொல்காப்பியர் உயிரனைய இக்கொள்கைகளைப் பொன்னேபோற் போற்றல் வியப்போ?

News and Notes

AN EARLY TAMIL PRINTED BOOK IN THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Among the Library's collection of rare books, there is an extremely fine specimen of early printing in India. The book has two title pages facing each other—the first in Latin and the second in Tamil. The Latin title page is as follows :

> Theologia | Thetica | in | qua omnia dogmata ad salutem | cognoscendi necessaria perspicua methodo | tractantur ac Dictis classics | probantur | ad propagationem Evangelii | Christi inter Gentes Orientales in | Lingua Damulica | scripta | a | Missionaries Danicis | Bartholomeo Ziegenbalgio | & | Johanne Ernesto Grundlero | Tranquebariae | Tpyis ac sumptibus Missionis Danicae | Anno MDCC XVII.

An English rendering of the above title will read as follows :

> " Positive theology, in which all the dogmas necessary to know salvation are dealt with in clear method and proved by classical references, written in the Tamil language by the Danish Missionaries, Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg and John Ernest Grundler for the spread of the Gospel of Christ among the Oriental Nations. Printed at the Printing Press and at the cost of the Danish Mission of Tranquebar Year 1717 ".

The book is a small octavo of 735 pages including a preface of eight pages and two pages of contents. It is bound in contemporary vellum. It is divided into two parts. The first part consisting of seven chapters, contains spiritual instructions regarding the nature of God. The second part of twenty-seven chapters deals with man. The entire text including the preface is in Tamil. The edition is not listed by Brunet nor in the British Museum Catalogue of Tamil Books. The book was reprinted at Halle and this edition is listed in the British Museum Catalogue as 2nd edition.

The author of the original work of which this is a translation was a German theologian—Johann Anatasius Freylinghausen (1670–1739).

The protestant mission at Tranquebar had a royal sponsor in the person of King Frederick IV of Denmark. Though the mission itself was of Danish origin its first personnel were Germans. They were Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg, one of the translators of the book, and Henrich Pluetschau. They embarked at Copenhagen on November 29th, 1705, and set sail on the following day. They reached their destination on July 9th, 1706, to receive not an official welcome such as might be expected from their own fellow countrymen, but an official hostility and persecution, including imprisonment at the hands of the Danish Governor of Tranquebar. This undisguised malevolence, however, proved a stimulus to the indomitable spirit of Ziegenbalg who, in spite of all opposition laid well and truly the foundation of Protestant Missions in India.

The two young German missionaries were convinced that if they were to preach successfully the Gospel of Christ, they had to apply themselves seriously to the study of the language of the people they were to serve. In Tranquebar at that time this meant Portuguese and Tamil. They cast lots as to who should study the Tamil language and it fell in favour of Pluetschau. Ziegenbalg was to busy himself with Portuguese.* However, for some reason or other, the decision was reversed. Pluetschau learned Portuguese and returned to Germany after five years in the mission field, while Ziegenbalg became a Tamilian and spent his whole life in Tamil Nad, except for brief visits to Europe to collect funds for his mission.

Johann Ernestus Grundler, the co-translator, set out for the Tranquebar mission from Copenhagen on November 17th, 1709. Soon after his arrival, he concentrated on the study

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* Propagation of the Gospel in the East; being an account of the success of two Danish Missionaries. . .in several letters, I, p. 27, London, 1718.

of Tamil language and literature, specially the medical works of the Tamils. In order to devote himself solely to his study, and to have only Tamilians about him, he moved to nearby Porayar. There he ate and dressed just like a Tamilian.

The story of early printing in India begins with the establishment at Goa of the first printing press over four hundred years ago. The press had been brought to India from Portugal and belonged to Dom Joao Nunes Barreto, the newly appointed Patriarch of Ethiopia, who was heading a mission to that country. The mission landed at Goa on September 6th, 1556 on its way to Ethiopia. The press, however, never reached Ethiopia. The departure of the missionaries had to be postponed indefinitely owing to the unexpected opposition of the Negus, with the result that the press remained where it had been installed, in Goa.

The first book to be composed in an Indian language and printed in an indigenous script in India was the *Doctrina Christam em Lingua Malauar Tamul* of Fathers Henrique Henriques and Manoel de San Pedro. The Tamil types for the book were cut by a Jesuit lay brother John Gonsalves and the book was printed at Quilon in 1578. The only copy of this book is found in the Harvard University Library, Massachusetts, U. S. A.[§]

The story of the Tranquebar Mission Press belongs to the second part of the history of the press in India. The 'Latin Printing Press' was donated by the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1711. It came to Madras via Brazil, and was entrusted to Grundler in August, 1712. In October, 1712 they were able to begin printing in Tranquebar.[†] The 'Cast of Malabar Types,' a present from the German friends of the Mission arrived in

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§ Boxer, C.R. "A tentative list of Indo-Portuguese Imprints 1556—1674." *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* No. 73, 1956, pp. 24-25.

† Propagation of the Gospel in the East; being a collection of letters from the Protestant Missionaries ...in the East Indies, etc., Part III, 1718, pp. 19 and 24-25; 105.

Niecamp, J.L. - *Historie de la Mission Danoise dans les Indes Orientales* etc., Tome II, pp. 63.

Tranquebar in July, 1713. Within few weeks printing began, and on September 19, the first printed pages and a few weeks later the first two Tamil booklets were out. Many of the Tamil letters produced at Halle were found to be imperfect and some were missing. The missionaries soon set up a foundry with a view to cast new and better types.‡ A long series of publications in the Tamil language were printed at the Press, including the New Testament, the translation of which had been commenced by Ziegenbalg on October 17, 1708, two years after his arrival in the country, and brought to completion on March 21, 1711.

B. ANDERSON

‡ Propagation of the Gospel, etc., III, 1718, pp. 65, 68, 76, 111, 117.

REGIONAL CENTRE FOR TAMIL AT BENARES

Mr. N. Murugesa Mudaliar, Vice President, Academy of Tamil Culture, addressed the regional centre for Tamil at the Queen's College, Benares on the 2nd March, 1963. Under the scheme of National integration some thirty persons are learning Tamil with a stipend from Government. The group consists of University students and teachers and outsiders, including men and women. Addressing the group, Sri. Mudaliar gave some practical suggestions for learning Tamil, particularly spoken Tamil. He said that a knowledge of Tamil would not only help national integration but would also make accessible the treasures of the Tamil literature and rich devotional literature in it. He said that if an Uttara Bharat Dravida Bhasha Prachara Sabha were set up at least even now, it would not be a day too soon. The classes are in charge of Mr. Siddhalingam, of the Dept. of Tamil and Mr. Sivaraman of the Dept. of Philosophy, Benares University. In the discussion that followed the talk, the suggestion was made that a learned body like the Academy of Tamil Culture might undertake the preparation on a scientific basis of suitable readers for the benefit of learners in North India and even learners in the Western countries and America. Desire was also expressed for gramaphone or tape records of simple songs or poetry in Tamil as Tamil films helped only to enjoy the music and not learn or appreciate Tamil. Mr. K. N. Vastava, Principal, Queen's College, Benares thanked Mr. Mudaliar for his instructive talk.

N. MURUGAN

" TIRUKKURAL " IN FRENCH

Mr. Rene Etimble, Professor of Comparative Literature, University of Paris, said here to-day he was trying to arrange for the translation of the Tirukkural and Panchatantra into French for the benefit of French students of Indian literature.

The Professor who is on a month's tour of India at the invitation of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, arrived this afternoon from Calcutta on a three-day visit to the City. He was accompanied by Mr. Gilbert Duprez, technician of the Radio and Television programme of France.

Prof. Etimble told newsmen at the airport that he was editor of a bureau, which translated Asian literature into French with aid from the UNESCO. He had published French translations of Vedic poems and literary works of Kabir, Tukaram and Kalidasa ("Kumara Sambhavam"). Recently, he published "Silappathikaram" of Ilango Adigal in French, rendered by Prof. Alan Danielou. He said nearly 400 students had taken up studies in the main cultures of Asia at the post-graduate level in the Paris University.

— *The Hindu* (Madras), 11-3-63.

TAMIL SCHOLAR'S VISIT TO S. AFRICA

GOVT. REJECTS REQUEST

The Interior Minister, Senator Jan de Klerk, has rejected a request to allow a Tamil scholar, Dr. R. P. Kandasamy, to visit South Africa on a lecture tour.

The Hindu religious and cultural organisation here that made the request, was told the Minister cannot give permission. No reason was given.

" During the past few years, the Minister did not place a ban on cultural, educational and religious leaders coming from India on lecture tours, " an official of the organisation said.

— *The Mail* (Durban), 5-3-63.

FEATURES OF KAVADI CHINDU

Folk melodies like the *Kavadi Chindu* had inspired great composers like Thyagaraja and Ramaswami Sivan, said Mr. S. Ramanathan, when he gave a talk and demonstration on

Kavadi Chindu under the auspices of the Madras State Sangita Nataka Sangham on February 28, at the Sastri Hall, Mylapore. One of the nine forms of musical compositions mentioned in old Tamil works, chindu included *Nondi Chindu* and *Vazhinadai Chindu*. *Kuvadi Chindu* was a form of *Vazhinadai Chindu* which was sung by pilgrims to dispel their fatigue as they proceeded on foot to the Murugan shrines of Tamil Nad with the *Kavadi* on their shoulders. *Kavadi Chindu* contained some delightful tunes remarkable for their subtle rhythm. It was composed by Annamalai Reddiar of Chinnikulam (1865—1891) for the Zamindar of Ootumalai, a patron of the arts of those days. The speaker urged the musicians to take more interest in these simple tunes as used to be done by the Karaikudi Veena Brothers, Muthiah Baghavathar and others. Prof. P. Sambamurthi, who presided, said that many ragas in carnatic music had their origin in folk music.

— *The Hindu* (Madras), 10-3-63.

Book Review

TAMIL ENCYCLOPAEDIA, Vol. VIII, published by Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, Madras.

This is the eighth volume of the Tamil Encyclopaedia styled the Kalai-K-Kalanciyam published by the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, Madras. This volume covers terms beginning from the letter ம to the letter ஜ and contains about 1500 articles, written by about 210 contributors. The encyclopaedia is expected to come to a completion with the next volume.

This volume keeps up the standard of the previous volumes and is a further proof that scientific and technical ideas could be expressed well enough in Tamil. Take for example the article on population, மக்கள் தொகை. In this immigration is translated as அக வலசை and emigration as புற வலசை. This is correct translation although the word வலசை is not in common use. Maternity is translated as கருவுயிர்த்தல். A better term might be பிள்ளைப்பேறு. Under population control, the method of discouraging association of the male and female is translated as கூட்டுறவுத்தடைகள். ஆண் பெண் நெருங்கிப்பழகாமை might be better. The trouble in translating ideas as a compact term does not always work satisfactorily. The genius of the Tamil language is such that it lends itself to easy and natural employment provided it is not forced into phrase formation in other languages. Compound words are unnatural in tamil.

It is unfortunate that Tamil words are not employed in preference to Sanskrit words where such words are perfectly possible. For example, under 'மகரந்தச் சேர்க்கை' (pollination), the following statement occurs:

'தாவரங்களின் சந்ததியை விருத்திசெய்ய மகரந்தம் அத்தியாவசியம்.' Surely easy Tamil words could be found for சந்ததி, விருத்தி, அத்தியாவசியம்.

The editors could have made it a point to include date of works or persons as chronology is a line of knowledge that has hitherto been neglected in Tamil works. This is omitted in many places and even where accurate dates could be ascertained only the circa is given.

It is not clear what principle has been adopted of the edition in transliterating Sanskrit proper names. For example மகாராஷ்டிரம் should properly be மகாராட்டியம்.

It is astonishing that in a Tamil encyclopaedia Tamil classical works are dismissed in a few lines. For example மணிமேகலை is disposed of in eight lines whereas Pancha Mahakavyam is given in seven columns and many other terms of general knowledge liberal space. This is total lack of sense of proportion and unfair to Tamil classics and culture.

The article on மறைமலையடிகள் is good. It mentions that all the publications of the author are now published by a particular firm. It does not however mention that his biography published by his son is also available.

The principle adopted in illustrating the articles is not clar. Less deserving headings are furnished with illustrations. A photo of a bronze 2 Meekandar, the celebrated author of Sivajranabothan could have included.

The principle adopted in including headings for eminent men is not also clear. There is a heading for V. Ramaswami but not for Dr. C. V. Raman or

S. Ramanujam (the Mathematical prodigy) or E. V. Ramaswami Naickar (Social reformer).

It is gratifying that a detailed article is devoted for *யாழ்.*

Under *மோட்டார்வண்டி*, there is a liberal number of photographs of various makes of cars and buses. This smacks of commercial advertisement and in any case such extravagance in illustration for an ordinary matter seems ill-deserved.

The first article on '*ம*' *மசாம்* written by T. P. M. is rather terse and technical which would be above the heads of an ordinary reader resorting to an encyclopaedia.

Inspite of the defects noticed, the compilation is a useful one and it is to be hoped that in the last and supplementary volumes, many omissions would be rectified.

N. M.

Errata to TAMIL CULTURE Vol. X, No. 4
on the article
'Where did the Dravidians come from'?

Page No. 125—Line 8—Read Chalcolithic for calcolithic.

Page No. 126—Line 33—Read half-a-millennium for half-a-million.

Page No. 127—Line 29—Read hydronomic for dydronomic.

Page No. 128—Line 12—Read Bannerjee for Deshpande.

Page No. 129—last line—Add B. C. after seventh-eighth century.

age No. 131—Line 11—Read Petrie for Petre.

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Nature and the Natural in Kalya:nasundarar

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The word "Nature" like the word "Culture" is one of the most used and abused words in Literature. A certain American writer has counted as many as sixty different meanings attributed to the word "Nature", and Leslie Stephen complained that "Nature is a word contrived in order to introduce as many equivocations as possible into all the theories, political, legal, artistic, or literary, into which it enters."[1] The multiple use of the Tamil word for nature, "*iyarkai*" (இயற்கை) by twentieth century Tamil writers, is not due to any calculated contrivance to produce equivocations, but is the result of attempts to utilise an old term for new meanings, now necessitated by the widening of the thought content and by the use of the prose medium for the exposition of themes which until the nineteenth century had been almost exclusively treated in verse or in cryptic and condensed commentaries.

The speeches and movements initiated by Maha:tma Ga:ndhi tended to look upon the growth of factories, and the development of towns and cities, and the new ways of life in food, drink, clothing and outlook, as artificial, and therefore opposed to the natural way of life inherited by India from India's Nature. Tiruva:rur Viruta:salam Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r (1883 - 1954) was a great protagonist of Ga:ndhism in the Tamil country. He commenced life as the Tamil pundit in the Wesleyan High School, and came into qualified contact with Western and Christian thought. He was, like many Indian thinkers, what we might call for want of a better term, a syncretist or eclectic in religious and phi-

1. See Willey Basil, *The Eighteenth—Century Background* p. 11. Peregrine Books, London, 1962. First published in 1940.

losophical thought, and inherited the traditional reverence for all religious thought, an attitude of mind, of which the best known modern advocates were Ramakrishna (1836-1886) and Swami Viveka:nanda (1863 - 1903) in Northern India, and Ramalingam Swami (1823 - 1874) in Tamil Nad. The term syncretist or eclectic, however, has not the connotation of open-mindedness and humble enquiry for religious and philosophical experience which is characteristic of many Indian thinkers.

Kalya:nasundarar was influenced both by the political movement led by Annie Besant, as well as by the syncretist tendencies of Indian theosophy, and maintained theosophistic attitudes to the end of his life. He was as much attracted by the doctrine of love preached by Christ and its soteriological aspects, as by the cosmic dance of Natara:ja and the sustenance of the Universe through love. A great number of passages in his prose, and the verses he wrote off and on to condense his ideas or to pray for grace of Christ, of Siva, of Visnu, of Murugan, of the Buddha, speak for the attraction which he had for spirituality, wherever it might be found. A person of lofty altruistic ideals, ever striving to practice what he preached, he was for the first half of this century the most accepted and, probably, the least controversial figure in the Tamil country. Having lost his wife in 1918, six years after marriage, true to ideals of married love which he held, he refused to marry a second time, but contributed to leadership in the Labour movement and in the struggle for independence, and generally dedicated his life to letters, and the moral and spiritual rejuvenation and rehabilitation of his people. Though living in the world and abhoring and even ridiculing every theory which spoke of renunciation of the world by withdrawing oneself from it, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r was in reality, wrapped in white as he was, a true ascetic in his altruism, in his spirit of service, in his detachment from riches and the highly principled discipline which he imposed upon himself. Nevertheless his asceticism was combined with a strong strain of Tamil optimism and life affirmation, and the humanism and

lofty ethical conduct prescribed by the *Tirukkural* continues to dominate his writing even after eighteen centuries. In the cycle of Rebirth, all other births except human birth, are predetermined to a life in which there is no liberty of choice. Human birth is to be welcomed because it is the only one which enjoys freedom and liberty, and therefore offers the opportunity for voluntary service. In lyrical lines he writes in his sixties concerning his desire for altruistic service.

தொண்டினுஞ் சிறந்த ஒன்று இருக்கிறதா? எனக்கு ஒன்றுந் தோன்றவில்லை. தொண்டே எனது வாழ்க்கை. எனது செல்வம். எனது ஆருயிர். எனது சமயம். எல்லாம். எல்லாம். விளைவு என்ன ஆயினும் ஆக. அதுபற்றிய கவலை எனக்கில்லை. என் கடன் பணி செய்து கிடப்பதே.

எனக்குப் பிறப்பு வேண்டும். பிறப்புப் பயன்கருதாத் தொண்டுக்குப் பயன்படுதல் வேண்டும். சாதி மதம் மொழி நிறம் நாடு முதலியவற்றைக் கடந்து நிற்கும் பொதுமை அறத்துக்குரிய சன்மார்க்கத் தொண்டு செய்தல் வேண்டும். இதுவே எனது வேண்டுதல்.[2]

The remarkable feature about Thiruva:rur Viruta:salam Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r is the capacity he maintained until the end of his life to absorb new ideas, to benefit by new experiences and reduce them to a unity and a meaningful synthesis. Evolutionary change, he held, is brought about by Nature revealing her hidden forces to investigating man at the opportune moment according to human need. Nature's revelation of the hidden forces, though timed to suit human need exacts the exercise of the human mind on the problems of the times. If India has not progressed in Science it is because Indians have not been as enterprising in discovering the forces of Nature as the Americans have been. A passage written in the last years of life in which he reveals how new experiences have helped in the development and readjustment of his own thoughts is of interest in the study of his personality, and is evidence of the unity and harmony he succeeded in attaining in all his experience.

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2. The most authenticated life is his own autobiography—
திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புக்கள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 20.

There is Evolution in the Universe as well as Evolution in the Individual.[3]

"I was born, grew up and learned from books. That was one kind of experience.

I had also the opportunity to learn Nature's arts. That was another kind of experience.

My life became associated with several movements. I worked for the countrys' independence; I was deeply involved in the labour movement. I thereby came to understand that freedom in different countries is the total freedom of mankind and of the world as a whole. This conviction added to my experience.

To some, human freedom is obtained through Marxism; to others through Gandhism. I examined these two isms as far as possible. By this investigation, I gained another kind of experience.

In youth, I accepted the religious beliefs of my parents. Later arose in me the desire to study the books of other faiths. I was able in some measure to fulfil that desire, and thereby grasped the underlying oneness of all religions. This illuminating experience was yet of another kind.

There were other experiences as well, but they did not remain in me as isolated and single experiences. They formed a unity within me, and what was the result? Peace. I realised that the fruit of life is peace."[4]

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3. திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை அல்லது கட்டுரைத் திரட்டு (இரண்டாம் பகுதி) சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை - 4, 1959. பக்கம் 74.

4. யான் பிறந்தேன்; வளர்ந்தேன்; ஏட்டுக் கலைகளைப் பயின்றேன்; ஒருவித அநுபவம் பெற்றேன்.

இயற்கைக் கலைகளைப் பயிலும் வாய்ப்பும் எனக்குக் கிடைத்தது. அதனால் யான் வேறு ஒருவித அநுபவம் அடைந்தேன்.

எனது வாழ்க்கை பலவித இயக்கங்களின் தொடர்புகொண்டது. நாட்டு விடுதலைக்குப் பாடுபட்டேன்; தொழிலாளர் இயக்கத்தில் தோய்ந்தேன். உலக விடுதலையே நாடுகளின் விடுதலை என்ற உணர்வு என்னகத்தில் அரும்பியது. இஃது இன்னொருவித அநுபவத்தைக் கூட்டிற்று.

உலக விடுதலையை அறிவுறுத்துவது மார்க்ஸியம் என்பர் சிலர்; காந்தியம் என்பர் சிலர். யான் இரண்டையும் நடுநிலை நின்று ஒல்லும் வகை ஆய்ந்தேன். இவ்வாய்வால் மற்றும் ஒருவித அநுபவம் என்னிடம் உற்றது.

இளமையில் யான் என் தாய் தந்தையர் ஏற்ற சமயத்தை ஏற்று ஒழுகினேன். பின்னே பல சமய நூல்களைப் பயிலவேண்டும் என்ற வேட்கை எழுந்தது. அவ்வேட்கை ஒருவாறு நிறைவேறியது. சமயங்களின் ஒருமைப்பாடு எனக்கு விளங்கிற்று. இவ்விளக்கத்தால் பிறிதொரு வித அநுபவம் என்பால் படிந்தது.

இவ்வநுபவங்களுடன் வேறு பலவித அநுபவங்களும் என்னில் திரண்டன. எல்லா அநுபவங்களும் என்னுள் தனித்தனியே நிற்கவில்லை. அவை யாவும் என்னுள் ஒன்றின. ஒன்றிய அநுபவத்தால் என்ன விளைந்தது? அமைதி விளைந்தது. "வாழ்க்கைப் பேறு அமைதி" என்னும் உண்மை எனது அடைவாயிற்று.

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கைவழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 16-17.

As a journalist and editor, and as a writer and platform orator, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r held a pre-eminent position in the Tamil country. His Tamil style and thought have influenced Tamil writing in the last three decades, especially of those who do not have direct access to English Literature or the literature of the other Indian languages. Literary associations by the name of Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r established even in Ceylon and Malaya speak for his influence among the Tamil reading youth. The more serious minded writers of the Tamil country seem to continue his line of thought, but in none of them, is so much discussion regarding Nature, and regarding what is natural and what is artificial. Some new habits in food, drink and clothing, and aspects of urbanisation and industrialisation which seemed undesirable innovations and intrusions to Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r, have come to be accepted as inevitable consequences of social change. In his own period Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r seems to stand like a revolutionary in certain aspects and a reactionary in others. The examination of his concept of Nature and nurture, and of what is natural and unnatural, seems to take us through all the segments of his thought, religious, literary, cultural, educational, social and political.

The Tamil word *iyarkai* (இயற்கை) has had from the earliest times a great number of meanings. It denotes the established order of the universe, as well as what proceeds from the essence as well as the disposition of man or matter. It is opposed to *seyarkai* (செயற்கை) or what is fabricated, and artificial. Through the centuries the word has acquired new semantic adumbrations, and the actual period when it comes to denote the physical universe, has not been traced. In no other Tamil writer of the twentieth century does the word obtain all those shades of meaning and implications similar to those which a reader finds in Wordsworth or Rousseau. This is partly because some of the political and social changes which Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r, advocated or condemned in his day were similar to the situations about which Wordsworth

and Rousseau had occasion to write; and produced in the writers more or less similar reactions.

God and Nature

The fundamental belief of Nature from which emanate as deductions all his outlook and convictions, is that Nature's relationship to God is like the relationship of the human body to the human soul. Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r often states the different views and theories of the monistic and dualistic schools, but hardly draws any inferences against the one or the other, and is not very much enamoured of philosophical speculation, howsoever valuable, but is more involved in the practical applications of philosophy, and in the drawing of practical deductions of spirituality, of morality, of ethics and of aesthetics, from his few and fundamental beliefs.

> "I remember the time when I immersed myself in these theories and disputations, and the weariness which resulted from them. The memory of that weariness leads me no more to philosophical disputes. I do not mean to say that there is no need for such philosophical and logical controversies; they are necessary to the understanding of speculative truths. But philosophical controversy itself is inadequate; one ought to take count of practical experience. To those who take count of experience, the three states are apparent (the monistic, the dualistic, and the mono-dualistic). At one stage God and Nature would seem different entities; in another stage they might seem inter-mingled; and at another stage as one What is sarkunam or tadastam but the concept of God in Nature as in a body?" 5.

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5. "பரம்பொருள் மாயாகாரியமாகிய அண்டபிண்டங்களென்னும் இயற்கை உலகங்களிலெல்லாம் கலந்து நிற்கும் நிலையே சகுணம்—தடஸ்தம்—என்பது. இந்நிலை பரம்பொருள் இயற்கையைத் தன் உடலாகவும் தன்னை உயிராகவும் கொண்டது என்று விளக்கம் செய்யலாம்...

அநுபவத்துறையில் இறங்கி உழைப்போர்க்கு மூன்று நிலைகளின் இன்றியமையாமை விளங்கும். அவர்க்கு ஒரு நிலையில் பரமும் இயற்கையும் வேறாகத் தோன்றும். இன்னொரு நிலையில் கலப்பாகத் தோன்றும். வேறு ஒரு நிலையில் ஒன்றாகவுந் தோன்றும். இம்மூன்றும் அறிஞரால்—பேரறிஞரால்—காணப்பெற்றவை. அவை வாழ்க; அவர் வாழ்க.

தியானத்துக்குப் பரத்தின் கலந்த நிலையென்னும் சகுணம் அல்லது தடஸ்தம் கொழுகொம்பாய்த் துணைபுரியும். சகுணம் அல்லது தடஸ்தம் எது? பரம் இயற்கையை உடலாகக்கொண்ட நிலை. இது கோயில்—பெருங்கோயில், கோயில் எதற்கு? வழிபாட்டுக்கன்றோ? வழிபாடு பெருக; தியானம் ஓங்க.

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கைவழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 39-40.

"Ma:ya: is the ancient word for Nature; the moderns understand the word Iyarkai while the term Ma:ya: is bewildering to them." 6

From this concept which partakes of the nature of all three of the prominent theistic systems of Indian philosophy, (the Advaita, the Dvaita, and the Visistadvaita), Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r draws various applications of spirituality and piety. Nature as united to God is seen in the Sivaka:mi concept; the cosmos as one and undivided unity is seen in Natara:ja as motion. What is the far-famed temple of Citamparam? It is not a mere building in the South Arcot district of Southern India. It is the artistic representation of the Universe uniting all Creation with its Creator, and portraying the relationships of identity and "separatedness" between God and Nature.[7]

It is through Nature as Creation that the attributes of the Creator are realised in a concrete manner. Nature in its various manifestations like sun and rain are the channels through which the benevolence and grace of God reaches all creatures. Agnosticism and Atheism are not effective or creative philosophies for Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r who, however, is convinced that "Marxism is a natural development which will reach its fullest possibilities if it became informed by theism, as it will in due time."

"The new world discovered by Marx is not a whole world. The Perfect Being "Sat" should be related to it. Then Marxism will be the body and the Perfect Being the life." 8

"It is through the visible manifestations of Nature that one arrives at the existence of the Infinite Being. As you investigate Nature you arrive at the existence of, Sat or Perfect Being. It may be stated briefly that Nature is the instrument to measure a Being which has neither habitation nor a name. Since it is through Nature that Sat operates its grace-giving functions, the path to Sat is

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6. திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கைவழி, சாது அச்சுக் கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 60-63.

7. திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கைவழி, சாது அச்சுக் கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 60-63.

8. திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 645.

> doubtless through Nature. How may I term the relationship between Sat and Nature? Is it possible to describe it in words? I consider God or Sat, the Perfect Being as my father, and Nature as my mother." 9

There is no doubt that the writer in his concepts of Nature has behind him Indian thought from the period of the Upanisads. We find however these ancient beliefs, once confined exclusively to religious poetry, now in the twentieth century becoming part also of a secular literary heritage as the reader of Bharati finds in ample measure. But while Bharati is predominantly Vedantic in his outlook regarding Nature and the emphasis he gives to his identity with all Creation, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r appears to be more Visita:dvaita and Saiva Siddha:ntic in his philosophy of Nature, emphasising Nature as the visible corporeal manifestation of the invisible Spirit.

Nature and Education

From a philosophic and religious concept of Nature as the Body of God, and as manifestation and channel of divine bounty, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r's transition to aesthetic involvement in Nature is easy and immediate. He is the most articulate writer in the twentieth century of the theistic and aesthetic concepts of Nature which bring peace and inner calm, indispensable conditions necessary in the development of the balanced personality. Kalya:nasundarar is the Tamil moralist and reformer *par excellence* of the first half of the twentieth century, in his careers as essayist, newspaper editor, platform orator, labour leader and retired thinker and philosopher. Having been a teacher in his earlier years, he continued all his life the conscious role of teacher in the Tamil country, and the endeavour to improve the lives of his listeners and readers is almost the only motif of all his writing. No other writer has so consciously and so deliberately stated the need for the people of the Tamil country to develop their aesthetic and emotional life through

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9. திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள், பக்கம் 80.

involvement in music, dance, painting, sculpture, in poetry and in Nature as has Kalya:nasundarar.

By meditation on the wonders of Nature and by the appreciation of natural beauty, one acquires a peace of mind, and the peace that builds personality. If peace builds all personality, especially does it build the personality of woman.[10] It is because of an intimate life with Nature that the Ancient Tamils produced great masterpieces of poetry and other Fine Arts and excelled in the moral virtues, and lived very long lives. Nature in the Tamil country is equable and affable, and the mountains and sea divides of the South seem to be frontiers which conserve a wonderful Nature, the geographical matrix of a very remarkable people and a resourceful culture. The pages in which Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r describes the natural beauties of the Tamil country, of Ceylon and of the neighbourhood of towns in which he addresses conferences, or of the suburban Madras of his boyhood, then dense with orchards and gardens, are prose poems in which the writer evidently enjoys the description and the choice of words. In his deliberate descriptions of Nature, he relishes the names of trees and plants, and describes them with a verbal luxuriance and richness, equal only to the rampant and dense vegetation of a tropical grove.[11] At times the richness of the description and the

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10. பெண்ணின் பெருமை, உள்ளொளி, முருகன் அல்லது அழகு.

"இயற்கையாகப் பெண்மக்களுக்கு அமைதிக் குணம் அமைந்திருக்கிறது. அமைதி, பெண்ணின் வாழ்விற்கு உரியது. அதைப் புலால் உணவு சிதைக்கும். இரஜோ குணத்தை எழுப்பி, மக்களைக் கெடுக்கும் புலாலை எக்காரணம்பற்றியும் பெண்மக்கள் உண்ணுதல் கூடாது."

திரு. வி. க. பெண்ணின் பெருமை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1955. பக்கம் 103.

11. "வானத்தின் கருமையும், நாலுபக்கமும் பசுமையுமன்றி வேறென்ன ஆண்டுள்ளன? வழிநெடுகப் பசுமை உமிழும் மலைகளின் செறிவும், சூழலும், நிரையும், அணியும் உள்ளத்தைக் கவர்கின்றன. முகிற் குழாங்கள் கொண்டல் கொண்டலாக அசைந்தும் ஆடியும் ஓடியும் மலை முகடுகளிற் சூழ்ந்து தவழ்ந்து பாகைபோல் பொலியும் காட்சியும் அம்மலைகளின் உடல புலனாகாவாறு பசும்பட்டுப் போர்த்தாலெனப் பொழில்கள் துதைந்துள்ள அழகும் புலன்களை ஒன்றச் செய்கின்றன. மலையுச்சியினின்றும் தரைவரை நிரை நிரையாகச் சரிந்தும் செறிந்தும் நிற்கும் தெங்கின் பெருக்கும், அவ்வாறே தெங்கைவிட்டுப் பிரியாது அணித்தே புடைசூழ்ந்து நிற்கும் கமுகின் உயர்வும், அவைகளுடன் நீக்கமின்றி வாழ்க்கைத் துணையெனச் சுற்றிச் சுற்றிப் பின்னிக்கிடக்கும் கான் பரந்த செடிகொடிகளின் ஈட்டமும், வானுலகேறப் பச்சைப் படாம் விரித்த படிகளெனத் திகழ்கின்றனவோ என்றும் ஐயுறலாம். புகைவண்டி,

conscious striving after synonyms results in overdone passages, which obfuscate the author's usual clarity and simplicity.

In almost all his books there are pages of exhortations to indulge in the plastic Arts, in Music, and in Poetry, all of which derive their aesthetic and humanistic qualities by originating from Nature, and by being close to Nature. His love of sculpture and painting originated with a visit to Mahabalipuram in the company of some English teachers of the Wesley School, Madras. He was impressed by the manner in which one of them lost herself in the contemplation of some of the sculptures. Since then he made positive attempts to appreciate painting and sculpture, while an appreciation of music he appears to have inherited from his paternal side.[12] Among a people who have had little or no

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அப்பசுமை நிலத்தில் பறந்தோடுவதை நோக்குழி, அது, பச்சை மரகத மலையைக் கிழித்தோடும் அமைப்பைத் தோன்றிற்று. பசுமைக் காட்சியில்லாத இடமும் உண்டோ? கண்ணுக்கும் மனத்துக்கும் இனிமையூட்டும் பசுமையின் பெற்றியை என்னென்றுரைப்பேன்.''

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1954. பக்கம் 63.

''பழைய இராயப்பேட்டை ஒரு சிற்றூர்; இயற்கைப் பசுங்கடல்; விருந்தின் உறையுள். அதனுள் மலையில்லை; அருவியில்லை; காடில்லை; கடலில்லை. ஆனால், மலையையும் அருவியையும் காட்டையும் கடலையும் நினைவூட்டும் இயற்கைக் கூறுகள் இருந்தன. பட்டத்தினின்றும் விரிந்தெழுந்து வெற்றிலைக் கொடிகளாம் பரந்த ஆரங்களைப் புனைந்து, தலைகளைச் சாய்த்து, ஒன்றுடன் ஒன்று முட்டியும், அசையாது வீழாதவாறு பிணைப்புண்டு தொடர்ந்த முகடுகளைக் கொண்ட வாழையின் நிரைகளின் கூட்டங்கள் தொடர் குன்றுகளாகக் கருதத்திருந்தும். கிடங்குகளில் பாயும் நீரோட்டம் மலை முகடுகளினின்றும் இழிதரும் அருவிகள்போன்றிருக்கும். அடர்ந்த தோட்டம் என்ற சிறுவனம் காட்டைக் கடுக்கும். அவ்வனம் இராயப்பேட்டைக்குப் பெருந்துணையாகப் பயன்பட்டது. அதில் அத்தி, விளா, மா, நெல்லி, நாவல், கிச்சிலி, இலந்தை, இலுப்பை, புளியம், புரசை, புன்கு, முருங்கை, கொன்றை, மகிழம், அசோகு, புன்னை, நுணா, ஆல், அரசு, வேம்பு, பனை, மூங்கில் முதலிய மரங்கள் விரிந்து பரந்து அடர்ந்து ஓங்கி வெய்யோனுடன் பொருதும். பெருங்களா, காரை, நொச்சி, ஆமணக்கு, எருக்கு, வட்டத்தாரை முதலிய செடிகள் பரவி மரங்களை நோக்கும்; சிறுகளா, சங்கம், கள்ளி, கண்ணி, மருட்டி, படர்காரை முதலிய தூறுகள் செடிகளைப் பார்த்து நகைக்கும்; தாளி, கோவை, பாலை, பிரண்டை முதலியன மரங்களையும், செடிகளையும், தூறுகளையும் பிணைத்துப் பின்னிப் படர்ந்து இறுமாந்து கிடக்கும்; முண்டகம், கண்டகம், முள்ளி, முளரி, ஆடாதோடை, ஆடுதின்னாப் பாலை, செருப்படை, தூதுவளை, தும்பை, துழாய், சுண்டை, நாயுருவி, நாக்கடு, ஊமத்தை, கற்றாழை, கொடிவேலி, கண்டங்கத்திரி, அவுரி முதலிய மூலிகைகள் மருத்துவஞ் செய்யும்.''

திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 82.

12. திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 108.

care in this modern age for aesthetic education, and whose achievement in the Fine Arts at present is comparatively so barren, especially in painting and sculpture, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r's insistence on the place of the Fine Arts in one's education, comes as a refreshing and welcome surprise. The love of Nature and a life according to Nature confers the blessedness of youth. The God of Nature, Murugan, is the God of perpetual youth. It is his youth which keeps also Nature in perpetual youth. Those who wish to keep young should worship him and are assured of youthfulness, a quality which even the oldest long to have.[13] Like Maraimalai Adikal before him, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r saw no beauty in the conventional, artificial and wooden descriptions of Nature which became the fashion with poets in recent centuries, and which stifled in people the natural appreciation of the true manifestations of Nature.[14]

In his reflections concerning the education of girls, there are passages which remind one of Rousseau's *Emile* and the *New Heloise*. It is interesting to note how at periods of

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13. "இயற்கைத் துணையால் முதியோர், இளமைப்பேறு பெறுதல் அரிதன்று. அமெரிக்காவில் சில அறிஞர் இயற்கைத் துணையால் இளமை காக்க முயன்றுவருகிறார். பண்டைத் தமிழ் நாட்டார் இயற்கையோடு முரண்படா வாழ்வு நடாத்தி, இயற்கை அழகாம் முருகனை வழிபட்டமையான், அவர் இளமை இன்பம் நுகர்ந்து வந்தனர். குமரனை மனமொழி மெய்களால் தொழுவோர் என்றும் குமரராயிருப்பது இயல்பே. இளமை காக்க விரும்புவோர் என்றும் இளமையுடைய முருகனைப் பொருள் தெரிந்து போற்றி உய்வாராக."

திரு. வி. க. முருகன் அல்லது அழகு. சாது அச்சுக்கூடம். சென்னை, 1960. பக்கம் 23.

14. "பண்டைத் தமிழர்கள் இயற்கை வழி வாழ்வை நடாத்தியவர்களாதலால், அவர்களால் முருகு வரம்புகடந்து கோலப்படவில்லை. இடைக் காலத்தில் சிலர், சொல்லடுக்கு இன்பத்திலும் போலிச் சந்தத்திலும் கருத்தைச் செலுத்தித் தமிழைக் குலைத்தனர். அவர்கள் பின் வந்தவர், பழந் தமிழர் நிலையை மறந்து, இடைக்காலத்தார் நிலையைத் தமிழ்நிலை என்று உணர்ந்து, தமிழ் வளத்தையே கெடுத்தனர். பழந்தமிழ் மலையும், அருவியும், யாறும், நிலவும், சோலையும் மண அழகாக இன்னும் அதன் அதன்கண் வாழ்வோர்க்கு இன்ப உணர்வை அளித்து வருகின்றன."

தமிழ்ப் புலவர்களுள் பெரும்பான்மையோர், தங்கள் முன்னோர்கள் கூறிய இயற்கை வருணனைகள் அடங்கிய பாடல்களை நெட்டுருச்செய்தும், அவர்கள் கூறிய வருணனைகளையே மீண்டும் மீண்டும் தங்கள் சொற்களால் அடுக்கி அடுக்கி ஆனந்தமுற்றும் வருகிறார்கள்; தாங்கள் தங்கள் அகத்தும் புறத்தும் தோன்றும் இயற்கை இன்பத்தில் தோய்ந்து, அதைப் பாக்களால் பாடி மகிழ்கிறார்களில்லை.

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை, (முதற் பகுதி) சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1954. பக்கம் 14.

social and industrial revolutions, educators concern themselves with the education of women :

> " Parents ought to train the girl while young in singing and dancing, with Nature in the background. They should educate her in song and dance in such a manner as to recall to her mind trees, plants, creepers, mountains, the moon, sun, and other Nature's objects It was the custom in our country with the older mothers to chant as lullabys, songs connected with the palmyrah palm, the mountain, the moon, the sky and similar objects." 15

Concerned as he was with educating his readers in the love of Nature, he takes every occasion to inculcate it remembering his own boyhood spent among the orchards and mango groves of Madras, and speaks of the positive cultivation of an appreciation of natural beauties, and the physical experience of sun light and moon light, and baths of fresh air and fresh water. He recalls that the worship of the rising sun so long practised in India was conducive to physical health and the appreciation of beauty, and speaks of the benefits conferred by the worship of moon and trees, and the peace to be secured from the sea and the mountain. India's Nature is wonderful and generates the spirit of freedom, while others born into cold climates have recourse to artifice since Nature in their homelands engenders the spirit of subjugating others.[16] Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r was convinced that food and dress should conform to the Nature of a

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15. "பெற்றோர் தம் பெண்ணிற்கு இளமையிலேயே இயற்கையைக் காட்டிக் காட்டி, ஆடல் பாடல்களை அறிவுறுத்துவது நல்லது. மரம், செடி, கொடி, மலை, நிலா, ஞாயிறு முதலிய இயற்கைப் பொருள் நினைவு தோன்றும் வழியில் பெண்ணை ஆடுமாறும் பாடுமாறும் பெற்றோர் வளர்த்தல் வேண்டும். நமது நாட்டில் பழைய தாய்மார் பனைப்பாட்டு, மலைப்பாட்டு, நிலாப்பாட்டு, வானப்பாட்டு, பறவைப்பாட்டு முதலிய இயற்கைப் பாடல்களைப் பாடிப் பாடிக் குழந்தைகளைத் தாலாட்டுவது வழக்கம். இயற்கையைப்பற்றிய பல கதைகள் பாட்டிமார் சொல்வதுமுண்டு. திருடன் கதை, கொலைஞன் கதை, குடியன் கதை, பேய்க் கதை, அச்சமூட்டுங் கதை முதலிய ஆபாசக் கதைகளைக் குழந்தைகட்கு எவருஞ் சொல்லுதலே கூடாது. மரஞ்செடிகள் அழகாக வளர்ந்து காய்கனிகள் தருவதையும், காற்று வீசுவதையும், ஞாயிறு ஒளி உமிழ்வதையும் காட்டி, "இம்மரஞ் செடியும், காற்றும், ஞாயிறும் ஏதாவது பயன் கருதிக் கடன்களாற்றுகின்றனவா?" என்று பெற்றோர் அடிக்கடி இளம் பெண்ணுடன் பேசிப் பேசிப் பரோபகார சிந்தையை அவள் உள்ளத்தில் பெருக்குவாராக.

திரு. வி. க. பெண்ணின் பெருமை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1955. பக்கம் 79-80.

16. "இந்தியாவின் இயற்கை நலத்தை என்னென்று புகழ்வது? புலவர்க்கு விருந்தாக விளங்குவது இந்தியாவின் இயற்கை வளமன்றோ?

country. He deprecated the use of tea, coffee, tobacco and meat as well the adoption of Western forms of dress and hair-styles, as unnatural and positively harmful to national health.[17] To him education according to Nature is one in which a life close to Nature, an appreciation of the beauties of Nature, and learning from the Book of Life, as distinct from the world of books, are paramount. But he builds no formal psychological and pedagogic theories which may come under a heading like "Naturalism," though the place of

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செயற்கை நஞ்சை வெறுத்து, இயற்கை அமிழ்தை நுகரும் முனிவரர் உறையும் நாடு நமது பாரத நாடன்றோ? இந்தியாவின் இயற்கையை உன்னுந்தோறும் உள்ளத்தில் அமிழ்தம் ஊறுநிற்கும்."

"இந்திய மக்கள் தங்கள் நாட்டுப் பொருள் அளவாக நிறைவு கொண்டு வாழ்ந்து வந்தமையான் அவர்கள் அறிவு இயற்கைப் பொருளிடத்தும், அம்முகத்திலும் ஊடுருவிப் பாய, அவணுள்ள இன்பத்தைத் தாங்களும் நுகர்ந்து ஏனையோர்க்கும் ஈந்தார்கள். மற்ற நாட்டவர்கள் குளிரான் நலிந்து வந்தமையான், அவர்கள் அறிவு, இயற்கையில் நுழையாது, செயற்கையிற்பட்டுப் பிறநாடுகளைப் பற்றுவதிலும், அவைகளைப் பற்றி அலைக்க ஆயுதங்களைக் காண்பதிலும் புகுந்து உலகத்துக்கே கேடு சூழ்ந்துவருகிறது. இந்திய மக்கள் அறிவு உலகத்தை நல்வழியில் நிறுத்துவது."

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை, (முதற் பகுதி) சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1954. பக்கம் 96, 97, 98.

"விஞ்ஞானத்திற்குப் பிறப்பிடம் இயற்கை. இயற்கைச் சக்திகள் அறிஞரால் ஆராயப்படுகின்றன. அவ்வாராய்ச்சிகள் விஞ்ஞானக் கலைகளாகின்றன."

"விஞ்ஞானம் ஏன் தோன்றியது? அதன் தோற்றத்துக்குக் காரணம் என்ன? காரணம் மலர்ந்து விரிந்து பெருகிவரும் உலகம். ஒரு காலத்தில் விஞ்ஞானத்தின் துணையாலேயே நடக்கும் நிலைமை நேரும் என்று இயற்கை அன்னை எண்ணியதாகும். வருங்கால நிலையைப் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகட்குமுன்னரே உணரும் ஆற்றல் இயற்கை அன்னைக்கு உண்டு. அதனால் வருங்கால உலகின் தேவைகளுக்குரிய சாதனங்களை இயற்கை அன்னை முன்னரே அருள்வது அவளது இயல்பு."

"விஞ்ஞான வளர்ச்சிக்கென்று சாம்ராஜ்யமும் வளர இயற்கை அன்னை திருவுளம் கொண்டாள் போலும். இனி இயற்கை அன்னையின் திருவுள்ளம் மாறுதலடையலாம். அவள் சேயாகிய விஞ்ஞானத்துக்குச் சாம்ராஜ்ய உதவி இனி வேண்டுவதில்லை."

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை வழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 30-31.

17. "நாடுகளின் இயற்கைக்கேற்றவாறு பொருள்களை ஆங்காங்கே கடவுள் படைத்திருக்கிறார். அவ்வந்நாட்டார் அவ்வந்நாட்டுப் பொருள்களையே கொள்வது நலன். மாறுபட்டு நடப்பது இயற்கையை மறந்து நடப்பதாகும். நமது நாட்டில் மரணத்தொகை பெருகுதற்குப் பல காரணங்களுண்டு. அவற்றுள் ஒன்று நம்மவரிற் சிலர் நாட்டின் இயல்புக்குரிய உணவு கொள்ளாமை. காபியும், டீயும் நமது நாட்டைக் கொலைசெய்கின்றன. அவற்றால் நமது நாட்டில் நீரிழிவும் காசமும் பெருகி வருவது கண்கூடு. கேழ்வரகு அவ்விரண்டு நோயையும் அழிக்கும் பொருள் என்பதை நகரவாசிகளிற் சிலர் இப்பொழுது உணர்ந்து வருகின்றனர்."

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்த் தென்றல், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1934, பக்கம் 132.

Nature as understood in Basic Education finds great favour with him.

Nature and Cities

As a believer and promoter of Ga:ndhism in politics and in economics, whereby the self-sufficient village would remain the unit of the economic life of the nation, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r finds industrialisation and urbanisation grossly unnatural. The dress should be simple, and life should be close to Nature in small towns and villages. Though cities did exist in the ancient Tamil country, they were located in surroundings where Nature's beauties dominated, but the city of today with its great crowds, its small houses, its inadequate drainage, its smells and its sounds are " an actual living hell." He himself because of certain occupational facilities was condemned to live in cities, but his heart was in the country, and as he describes the unnaturalness of the city, he is no doubt thinking of the scenes he has witnessed in sections of the South Indian cities to which rural populations were flocking in ever increasing numbers. The physiognomy of the city had changed for the worse and there was no inspiration possible for the poet or writer in the modern city.

> "What is it that you obtain in the modern city but the sound of machinery, the refuse drain, emergency regulations, poverty, electioneering propaganda, petty caste and religious controversies and such like phenomena? Could these ever inspire poetry? This man made artifice is hell indeed" 18

To enjoy the beauty of a city one must have recourse to the poetry of the ancients, and there find beauty within the palm-leaf manuscripts or the printed book. While describing the circumstances of his life in Madras and the many incon-

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18. "இந்நிலையில் வாழ்ந்த நம் முன்னோர்கள் மனம்போல நாடும் மணம் வீசிக்கொண்டிருந்தது. தற்கால நாடுகளிலும் நகரங்களிலும் என்ன இருக்கின்றன? சொல்லவும் வேண்டுமோ? இயந்திர ஒலியும் ஓட்டமும், சாக்கடை ஓடையும், அடக்குமுறையும், வறுமையும், தேர்தல் பிரசாரமும், சாதி சமயப்போர்ச் சிறுமையும், பிறவும் எங்கணும் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன."

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை. 1954. பக்கம் 19-50.

veniences which compelled him to write by night, he speaks of the glimpse he was privileged to have of the green tops of trees by the day and the light of the stars by night. There is in those pages the satisfaction that he is making the best of the situation which circumstances have imposed and to which he is fully reconciled, but there is no doubt, either, that he would have welcomed life in closer association with Nature, and a retirement with less disturbance from the outside world which would have afforded the leisure to be dedicated for writing :

> "A great beauty moves about my room. To the left, the coconut groves and the mango tree and the murunkai shed their green and the sky its blue through the window. They attract both my thoughts and my eyes. Those sights bring to my heart the peace that is like woman. At night the twinkling of the stars brings relief."19

The Natural and the Unnatural

The precise and total area which Kalya:nasundara Mudâliya:r described as Nature in his applications of the term, is not easily outlined or defined. Apart from the religious concept of Nature whereby the physical world is considered to be the visible body of the Perfect Being and therefore arrayed in Beauty, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r has other concepts of Nature, philosophic, moral and aesthetic.

Kalya:nasundarar's definition of Nature is also made clearer and sharper by his statements as to what are unnatural and artificial, as expressed in the term "seyarkai". To him Nature contains within itself Science and scientific discoveries. The law of evolution is a natural law of Nature's process of self-revelation, from which emerge the knowledge of laws and energies as and when required by the human race.[20] Nature would never permit evil to conquer the world ; Nature could never permit the fragmentation of the

19. திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புகள், பக்கம் 98.

20. "விஞ்ஞானத்திற்குப் பிறப்பிடம் இயற்கை. இயற்கைச் சக்திகள் அறிஞரால் ஆராயப்படுகின்றன. அவ்வாராய்ச்சிகள் விஞ்ஞானக் கலைகளாகின்றன."

world by colonial powers or by narrow nationalism. Nature is all blessedness and the kind mother who fosters, corrects, forgives, and who eliminates wickedness. But why then are there in this world so many unnatural and artificial ways of life? To this query, Kalya:nasundarar would answer like a good Siddha:ntist that *Ignorance* coexists with the soul, and God has left it to both individual and collective human effort to remove Ignorance by living according to Nature, that is by a conscious attempt to eradicate all evils like anger and greed which proceed from this congenital Ignorance. *Ariya:mai*, the Tamil word for Ignorance, denotes the existence of some positive element which has to be eradicated. And as Ignorance is removed, and ways and means are found to remove it by fidelity to the right life and its practices, then ignorance lessens and the light of understanding becomes brighter and illuminates progressively larger areas of knowledge and experience. A life according to Nature is no other than the conscious cultivation of goodness, kindliness, human brotherhood and a reverence for all life, while the unnatural life which is brought about by permitting the activity of ignorance brings about anger, discord, greed, caste and colonialism.[21]

"விஞ்ஞானம் ஏன் தோன்றியது? அதன் தோற்றத்துக்குக் காரணம் என்ன? காரணம் மலர்ந்து விரிந்து பெருகிவரும் உலகம். ஒரு காலத்தில் விஞ்ஞானத்தின் துணையாலேயே நடக்கும் நிலைமை நேரும் என்று இயற்கை அன்னை எண்ணியதாகும். வருங்கால நிலையைப் பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகட்குமுன்னரே உணரும் ஆற்றல் இயற்கை அன்னைக்கு உண்டு. அதனால் வருங்கால உலகின் தேவைகளுக்குரிய சாதனங்களை இயற்கை அன்னை முன்னரே அருள்வது அவளது இயல்பு.

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை வழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 30.

21. "உயிர்களின் அறியாமையை விலக்கும்பொருட்டு, எல்லா உலகங்களையும் கடந்துநிற்கும் பரம்பொருள், அவ்வுலகங்கள் எல்லாவற்றிலுங் கலந்தும் நிற்பதாயிற்று. இதுவே கருணை, பெருங் கருணை, அளப்பருங் கருணை. இக்கருணையை என்னென்று வியப்பது. என்னென்று புகழ்வது? என்னென்று போற்றுவது? அதை வியந்து, புகழ்ந்து போற்றிய பெரியோர் பாக்களை ஓதி ஓதி உருகுவோமாக."

"இயற்கைப் பரம் உயிர்களின் அறியாமையைப் படிப்படியே விலக்கக் கருணை கூர்கிறது. பரம்பொருளின் கருணை உயிர்களுக்குப் பலப்பல உடலங்களைக் கொடுக்கிறது. அக்கொடை, உயிர்களின் அறியாமையை, அவ்வவ்வுடலுக்கு ஏற்றவாறு, அவ்வவ்வளவில் ஒதுக்குகிறது. அறியாமை ஒதுங்க ஒதுங்க அவ்வவ்வளவில் அறிவு விளக்கம்பெறும். இவ் விளக்கத்துக்கு மூலமாயிருப்பது பரத்தின் அருட்பெருங்கொடை என்பதை மறத்தலாகாது.

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை வழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 43.

Evolution is therefore the dynamic aspect of Nature. All life is in a process of evolution ; the change in convictions from day to day, and the process of education itself, resulting in the frequent change of personality in the individual is an aspect of Evolution in the human form of life.

In his definition of the unnatural Kalya:nasundarar includes many topical questions of universal interest. It is natural for the inhabitants of a well defined and traditional territory to be governed by themselves ; foreign rule and colonialism are unnatural. The concept of varna is natural, but the concept of caste is unnatural. It is natural to be patriotic, to love one's own language and one's own nation but the suppression of these virtues is unnatural.[22] Just as lawyers are his pet aversion, so is also the concept of asceticism which renounces the world and marriage. In several places he pronounces celibacy to be unnatural, and has no regard for the asceticism which takes itself away from the world and seeks refuge in the forest and mountain hideouts. If old classical texts be brought in support of "unnatural renunciation," his answer is that these texts are misquoted and misinterpreted ; all that the texts inculcate is moderation in pleasure, and the use of the faculties and powers according to right reason. He considers the demand to mortify the senses an absurd one, since the senses are the gates through which Beauty, God's Beauty, is apprehended. Woman is the perfection and the realisation in concrete of all the Beauty that Nature possesses in a limited and particularised manner

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22. "எவரெவரை இயற்கை எங்கெங்கே பிறப்பிக்கிறதோ, அவரவர் ஆங்காங்கே உள்ள வழக்க ஒழுக்கங்கட்கு இயைந்த வாழ்வு நடாத்துவது இயற்கை அன்னையை வழிபடுவதாகும். ஆங்காங்குள்ள தட்ப வெட்ப நிலைக்கேற்ற வண்ணம், இயற்கை அன்னை, மொழி, நாடு, பொருள் முதலியவற்றை வழங்கி இருக்கிறாள். அவ்வளவில் உள்ள நிறைகொண்டு வாழ்வது இயற்கை வாழ்வாகும். நிறைகொள்ளாது பேராசையால் மற்ற நாடுகளையும் பொருள்களையும்பற்றி வாழ விரும்புவது செயற்கை வாழ்வாகும். இதனால் இயற்கைக்கு மாறுபட்ட வினைகள் நிகழ்கின்றன. அவ் வினைகளால் ஏற்றத் தாழ்வும், அடக்குமுறையும், பிற கொடுமைகளும் உலகிடை நுழைந்து துன்புறுத்துகின்றன. உலகில் இன்ப நுகர்ச்சியும் இல்லாதொழிகிறது. இப்பொழுது உலகம் எந்நிலையிலிருக்கிறது? செயற்கை வெம்மையில் வீழ்ந்து எரிந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறது."

திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்த் தென்றல், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1954. பக்கம் 8.

in other objects of creation and in the manifestations of the Fine Arts.[23]

The life according to Nature is further enriched by altruistic service and by practice of the doctrine of ahimsa. The author is most grateful to Providence for giving him the opportunity for service in various spheres, political, linguistic, literary, religious and social, and prays for rebirth so that he might have again the opportunities for service to Tamil and to humanity. To Beythan, the German missionary who invited him to teach Tamil in Germany, all that he could reply was that he hoped he might be able to do it in his next birth. He longed to translate Tolstoy into Tamil. Since circumstances were not favourable to what would have been a labour of love, he hoped to engage in the task of translation in his next birth, and of writing those other books for which he has had no time in this birth. Life, or better human birth is to be considered as an opportunity for service.[24]

The theory of Aesthetics elaborated especially in his book "Murukan or Beauty" and summarised in most of his later books, may be summed up as God is Beauty and Beauty is God, and Nature is Beauty and Nature is God. Beauty which is *ens* appears to the senses through Nature, which is the source of all the Fine Arts.

Nature and the World Community

I think it may be asserted with fair amount of accuracy that Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r was able to transcend national linguistic frontiers in his thought because of his concept of Nature. From the Oneness and unity of Nature

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23. அகிலத்திலுள்ள இயற்கை வனப்பெல்லாந் திரண்டு பெண் தெய்வமாகிக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன. "பெண்ணின் முகம் எனது புத்தகம்" என்று அறிஞர் பைரன் என்பார் கூறியிருக்கிறார். இயற்கை வனப்பை ஓரிடத்தில் திரட்டிக் காட்சியளிக்கும் ஒரு பெரும அழகு நிலையம் என்றும் பெண்ணைக் கூறலாம. அத்தகைய அழகு நிலையத்தை எச்சொல்லால் சொல்வது? எவ்வெழுத்தால் எழுதுவது?"

திரு. வி. க. பெண்ணின் பெருமை, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1955. பக்கம் 115.

24. திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புக்கள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 143, 139.

he argued quite independently of Western writers, the unity of Mankind and the possibility of a World Community. Altruism, Human Brotherhood, and a One World idea, he says, is essentially the Tamil philosophy, but with the usual naivety which characterises patriotic rhetoric, he says, that wherever these ideas are to be had, there are to be found Tamil philosophy and Tamil Culture.[25] As he advanced in years and experience, Kalya:nasundara Mudaliya:r was disposed more and more to think on world unity, and elaborated his philosophy of one mankind and the unity of all religions and religious beliefs. He draws his arguments from all the philosophies and religions found in India, and his optimism and humanism from the Saiva Siddha:ntha philosophy and from Tamil classical literature. He speaks of this new age which is fast approaching when a person after breakfasting in Madras, would return for lunch in Madras after stopovers in London and Moscow. Human thought was now concentrating more on the oneness of Nature than on the components of Nature. Earlier in his life he had stated that he was first and foremost a Tamil, then an Indian, then a Citizen of the World.

> "But now I have begun to say that first and foremost I am a Citizen of the World, secondly an Indian, and thirdly a Tamil. I am now convinced that if the world prospers, Tamil will prosper, and Tamil Nad will prosper" "Mother Nature has decided that the World must *now* be one" 26

Nature to him was a most comprehensive reality containing even the problems and the solutions of the Individual and of Society.

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25. "இம்முறையில் இயற்கைக் கல்வி பெருகுகிறது. அக்கல்வி பெருகப் பெருக என்ன தெரிகிறது? இயற்கைக் கூறுகளெல்லாம் ஒன்றன் விரிவு என்பது தெரிகிறது. அதனால், "யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர்" என்னும் பொதுமை விளக்கமுறுகிறது. பொதுமை—அறம்—அந்தண்மை—எல்லாம் ஒன்றே. பொதுமை இயற்கை நெறி. இயற்கை நெறியே, தமிழ் நெறி. இந்நெறியில் நின்றொழுகும் பேறு ஓரளவிலாதல் யான் அடைந்தமை குறித்து மகிழ்வெய்துகிறேன். அதைக் கூட்டுயது எதுவோ அதை வாழ்த்துகிறேன், வணங்குகிறேன்."

திரு. வி. க. வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்புக்கள், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1944. பக்கம் 123.

26. இயற்கை அன்னையின் நோக்கம் உலகை ஒரு சமூகமாக்குவதில் திரும்பியிருக்கிறது. அவள், உறுப்பின் நிலைமையை மாற்றி, அதை உலக

நினைப்பாக்கக் கருதிவிட்டனள். இனி எவ்விதத் தடையும் நேராது. "உலகம்" "உலகம்" என்னும் எண்ணம் ஓங்கி வளர்க."

"சில காலத்துக்குமுன்னர், "யான் முதலில் தமிழன், இரண்டாவது இந்தியன், மூன்றாவது உலகவன்" என்று சொல்லிவந்தேன். இனி அவ்வாறு சொல்ல என் மனம் விரையாது. காலநிலை மாறியது. அதற்கேற்ப என் கருத்தும் மாறியது. இப்பொழுது, "யான் முதலில் உலகவன், இரண்டாவது இந்தியன், மூன்றாவது தமிழன்" என்று சொல்லிவருகிறேன். உலகம் வாழ்ந்தால், "தமிழ் வாழும், தமிழ் நாடும் வாழும்" என்னும் உறுதி எனக்கு ஏற்பட்டுவிட்டது."

"இப்பொழுது சிலர் "எம் நாடு", "எம் நாடு" என்று பேசுகின்றனர். அதைக் காணும் தமிழர் வாயும், "எம் நாடு", "எம் நாடு" என்று எதிரொலி செய்கிறது. இது தமிழரிடைப் புகுந்த செயற்கை. தமிழரது இயற்கையன்று."

திரு. வி. க. பரம்பொருள் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை வழி, சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை, 1959. பக்கம் 170, 172.

"என்னுடைய நூல்களெல்லாம் இயற்கையோடியைந்த வாழ்வை அறிவுறுத்தல் உங்கட்குத் தெரியும்" உள்ளொளி, பக்கம் 252.

Tamil Political Journalism— The pre-Ghandhian Period[1]

V. SUBRAMANIAM

I. The late beginnings.

A significant starting point for an historian of Tamil political journalism is the year 1878; that year, when Lord Lytton called for opinions on his draft Vernacular Press Bill to restrict Indian language journals, the main dissenting note defending them came from a member of the Madras Governor's Council;[2] ultimately when the Act was passed, the Madras Presidency was excluded from its operation; anyway, the Tamil Journals that existed were non-political and their comments on the Act were complacent if not commendatory. All this was in startling contrast with conditions in Bengal where the Bengali Press and the Viceroy were ranged bitterly against each other and the contrast becomes puzzling if we remember that the first printing press was established and the first book in Tamil printed over a century earlier to the first Journal in Bengal.[3] To attempt an explanation, one should consider in detail the actual conditions in Madras about that time and the history of the preceding decades which led to such conditions.

The lack of interest in politics in Madras in 1878 comes out in bold relief through a contemporary experience of Surendranath Banerjee, and a tell-tale comment in the Madras Government Administration Report of the same year. Banerjee confessed in 1927 that Madras, then "so instinct with the public life of India," was in 1878 "the only place in all India, where he found it impossible to hold a public meeting upon a question of vital interest to our people and in regard to which there was practical unanimity all over India."[4] No wonder the Madras Administration Report of 1877—78 was gently surprised (in its section on books and publications) to find "an anonymous pamphlet in *English*

professing to deal with the question what is the form of Government that India should obtain at the hands of England" and "a new edition of a *Telugu work* on Zamindari administration remarkable as having emanated from one of the Zamindars," when "as a rule books and pamphlets on political subjects (were) rare in this part of India." There was no occasion for anyone to show surprise at the complete absence of political journals in Tamil.

Of the fourteen contemporary Tamil journals[5] only two, namely *Dinavarthamani* and *Vettycodyone,* could be called newspapers even by courtesy and a third, *Desopakari,* (not found in the Registrar's list) was probably a sort of a newspaper.[6] Two more, namely *Salem Patriot* and *Palani Sthala Vinotham* were country publications devoted to local news and the others were either Christian religious publications such as *Narpotham, Arunothayam, Sathia Varthamany, Sathia Theepam,* and *Amirtha Vachani,* or Hindu Religious publications such as *Gnana Bhanu, Vethantha Nirnaya Patrika* and *Siddhanta Sangraham,* with *Janavinodini* as a lone-non-political non-religious general magazine. The last mentioned, burying the news of Lytton's Vernacular Press Act in the last paragraph of its last page (in its March-April issue of 1878,) commented with aloofness : "Because some editors of Vernacular newspapers in north Hindustan have published articles against the British Government, bringing it into ridicule and contempt, and also because many papers (excepting ones conducted by native Maharajahs) have threatened to write defamatory articles on Maharajahs, the Government have suddenly promulgated an Act to the effect that unless the editors furnish security that they would not attack the Government, the papers will not be allowed to publish. The Act was passed without much prior notice because the Government felt that discussing the measure would lead to more evil. It is understood that the Act might be criticized and opposed in the British Parliament, but *since we have vowed when starting our Journal not to write on government, religion or such other controversial subjects, we will not be exposed to any risk, whatever happens*

to the Act."[7] Even such a complacent comment was avoided by *Desopakari* which simply gave the news about the Act, adding, Coverley-like; "There are different opinions about the need and usefulness of this Act."[8] It is a safe guess that both *Dina Varthamani* (originally sponsored by Rev. Percival) and *Vettycodyone*, played safe in their comments on the Act even if they did not support it.[9] Is it surprising that Hon. Sir. W. Robinson of the Madras Governor's Council could say of the Vernacular press he knew, that it "was not as vulgar or extravagant as Mr. Eden, Lieut. Governor of Bengal, estimated it to be" and that "the hostile criticism of the native press rarely went beyond reasonable limits."[10] He could even afford to expand on the Vernacular press as "a useful barometer of native feeling" or as "a good deterrant against corrupt officials" when no strong feeling existed anyway and deterrant comments were rare. if any. It was no surprise that such advice was not taken seriously by the Lieut. Governor or the Viceroy who faced a hostile (even if justly hostile) press in Bengal, nor was it surprising that Madras Presidency was excluded from the operation of the Act the need for which did not exist therein.

How can all this be explained? A complete and convincing explanation is difficult but one can attempt an explanation in terms of the different political and journalistic histories of Madras and Bengal respectively. This comparative historical study falls broadly into two periods, namely the pre-1857 and the post-1857 years.

A survey of the history of Journalism in north India in the first period shows four stages of development; Christian missionaries initially started Indian language journals to propagate their gospel—denigrating Hindu customs in this process; this led to the launching of Hindu reformist Journals to fight Christian missionary propaganda and reform Hinduism from within; they were soon followed by Hindu orthodox Journals to fight Hindu reformist ideas; and finally religious journals slowly gave place to journals of social and political controversy.[11] For example, the Seıampore mis-

sionaries (after feeling the official pulse with a Bengali monthly *Dig Dursan*) launched in 1818 the weekly *Samachar Durpan*, which indulged in criticism of Hindu religious customs. To counter this, Bowani Charan Banerjee started an organ of Hindu social and political reform, namely the weekly *Sambad Kaumudi*, which was later taken over by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy who also started the Persian *Moiatul Akbar*, frightening the authorities with his theological polemics. The next spurt of growth in the Bengali Press in 1830 could be based more on a social and political impetus; the *Banga Dut* was started by the Tagore brothers and Rajah Ram Mohan Roy and *Samachar Subha Rajendra* was started by Sher Alimullah and by then there were altogether three dailies, one triweekly, two biweeklies, seven weeklies, two bimonthlies and a monthly. All this could feed on the support of a "large class of Hindoo population of Calcutta who have become imbued to a certain extent with English tastes and notions" and a consequent love of news, though "poverty and want of curiosity" limited the circulation to the city.

In Bombay again, religious controversy was the original impetus behind the Gujerathi and Parsee Press; Fardoonji Mursban established the first Gujerathi Press in 1812 to counter missionary propaganda; the orthodox retorted rather feebly to reformism; much later, when social and political questions assumed importance, *Mumbai Vartman* was established as a weekly and changed over to a biweekly called *Mumbai Harkaru Aur Vartman*, followed years later by the two 'political' papers namely *Rast Goftar* of Dadhabhoy Naoroji in 1851 and *Akbar-e-Sodgar* of Kavasji in 1852. In the North-west Province, while religious controversy played a lesser part, the press developed on reformist lines; the Syed brothers (Syed Mohammed Khan and Sir Syed Ahmed) founded *Sayyedul Akbar* in the interests of educational reform, and Delhi became the centre of a few general Urdu papers.

In Madras however, there were only three Journals in Tamil before 1857. The first Tamil journal was probably

the *Tamil Magazine* published by the Religious Tract Society in 1831, which lived on for a few years after 1833. The next newspaper in Tamil, *Rajya Vriththi Bodhini* started in 1855 published general intelligence, chiefly translated from English newspapers, and probably had a circulation of 100 copies.[12] The first weekly paper was *Dina Varthamani*, and was started in 1855 as a Journal of general intelligence (domestic and foreign). It was edited by the Rev. P. Percival and published at the Dravidian Press, and claimed a circulation of 1000 at 2 annas a copy. It received a grant from the Madras Government which was justified by the Director of Public Instruction from both "an educational" and "*political point of view.*"[13] A little later, the American Mission Press started *Quarterly Repository* which was apparently distributed free of charge with a circulation of 800. In general, the following judgment of J. Natarajan on this period of Tamil Journalism is fair and relevant :[14]

> In the pre-rebellion period Tamil Journalism engaged neither in social nor in political controversies. Run exclusively by Missionaries, information must have been confined largely to material approved by Government. Articles were extracted from English newspapers without reproducing any of their objectionable features. As already pointed out even the English language newspapers were careful in their publication of matters likely to offend the Government as censorship in Madras was more stringent than elsewhere in India in the early years of newspaper production.

The fact that the Tamil journals were being run exclusively by missionaries was not the only nor even the main cause of this stagnation; indeed all the factors which quickened the .development of the language press in the north were absent in the south. The chain reaction which Christian missionaries started in ,Bengal with their language journals, leading Hindu Reformers and orthodox Hindus to inaugurate their own—did not seem to work that way in Madras; missionary success with the lower caste Hindus went largely unnoticed by the community; and no corps-de-elite

of English-educated Tamil Mohan Roys and Tagores arose in this period to reform their religion or to fight the foreign missionaries with the language press.[15] On the political plane, the seat of government and the centre of political interest was Calcutta; it was the centre of political controversies such as the freedom of the press; it was the military headquarters which heard the first news of battles in north India; and it was the port of call for steamers with news from Europe. Calcutta was again the centre of publication of English papers from which the language papers took their news. Lastly, it contained that small nucleus of readers for the language press consisting mostly of local westernized gentry. Madras had none of these favourable factors; it was not an important seat of Government; there was little local politics to discuss, for the unsuccessful resistance to British rule in the earlier years came from a heroic, revivalist, chieftain class of Polygars, with no substantial middle class to buttress it; news from England reached late; there were not many Englishmen and no vigorous press; there were few westernized Indians to want to start a newspaper in an Indian language and sustain it; and because of its isolation from the centre of news and political controversy, there developed little taste for news which had anyway no immediate local relevance. In view of all this it occasions little surprise that in the Tamilnad of 1857 the first Tamil news-weekly was edited by an English Christian Missionary and government servant who received a government grant, —when *Dootiben, Sultan-ul-Akbar* and *Samachar Soodhabhurshan* in north India were prosecuted for anti-Governmental writing and the *Bombay Samachar,* the Jam-e-Jamshed and the *Rast Goftar* were defending Indian character.

Conditions in the post-1857 period up to 1878 were even more responsible for the difference between Madras and Bengal. The rebellion of 1857 was followed by a reign of terror unleashed by the vengeful army of the East India Company, vivid pictures of which have been provided by various English writers and Indian nationalism of the bomb

and revolver type, of angry editorials, of Kali worship and secret societies, took its origin in the stresses and strains of that unhappy period. Perceptive writers of this period saw that English cruelty after 1857 in turn led to murders of British officials, and violent outbursts in the Indian language press. For example, Garrat, in his book *Indian Commentary* quoting from W. H. Russel, G. O. Trevelyan and Edwardes, shows how the orgy of massacre and oppression in the post-1857 years changed the loyal attitude of many Indians, how in the years that followed, Englishmen went on the assumption that one English life was worth many Indian lives, and how retaliation came from the Indian side in the shape of murders of Englishmen and in the defence of such acts by the Indian language press of Bengal. Garrat quotes Theodore Morrison who said " It is an ugly fact which it is no use to disguise that the murder of natives by Englishmen is no infrequent occurrence. In one issue of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of this month three contemporary cases are dealt with in none of which the prisoners paid the full penalty for murder." He also quotes J. M. Mitra who said in his *Anglo-Indian Studies* : " The unrest then sprang some decades ago from the personal ill-treatment of the natives by Englishmen who ought to have been deported from the country. This was utilized, probably magnified, by the Vernacular Press and from such beginnings, unrest has developed into seditious bomb-throwing and violence." Typical of this period was this comment of *Amirt-Bazaar* Patrika in 1875 on the murder of Colonel Phayre in Baroda : " To emasculate a nation that the Government might rule without trouble ; surely to poison an obscure Colonel is by far a lighter crime." It was easy indeed for Sir Campbell in early 1876 to prepare a large dossier of such inflammatory writing to buttress the arguments of Lord Lytton and Ashley Eden for the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. But the rebellion of 1857 did not affect Madras, and there was no aftermath of bitterness, no politics based on bitterness nor a press to give vent to it. Nor was there much keenness to get news of what was happening in other parts of India and the fairly well-established English press in Madras was compa-

ratively less provocative towards either the Government or Indians than its counterparts in Bengal and Bombay.

The foregoing historical explanation is probably not complete but all such factors as the comparatively easier conquest of the Madras Presidency by the East India Company, the peaceful rule following the earlier anarchy, the isolation of Madras from the cross-currents of political, social and religious controversy in Bengal and Bombay and the non-participation of Madras in the 1857 rebellion and its bitter aftermath add up to explain a non-political atmosphere and a poorly developed press in Madras in 1878. It is interesting to note that a senior Tamil journalist writing in 1904, tried to account historically for the condition of the Tamil press in 1878 in much the same terms :[16]

> Even long after public conferences and newspapers were common in other parts of India to explain to people the good as well as mistaken acts of the British Government, right till 1880, there were no public conferences nor newspapers in the Madras Presidency. There were many reasons for this. The first was that the Madrasis did not have as much schooling in public life as other parts of India to take an interest in public affairs. Another was that Madrasis did not yet fully realize that the Britishers were ruling India not for the sole benefit of the native, but for their own good and profit. A third was probably the fear, selfishness, and indolence, natural to the South. Fifty or sixty years ago, South Indians were interested only in building temples, arranging festivals, feeding Brahmins, and in religious controversy. In addition they firmly believed that Almighty had sent his angles in the shape of the British, in his infinite mercy, to save the great religions and customs of the Hindus who were crushed under Juggernaut of Muslim Rule and that only under the British, would their customs and religion, grow and flourish as a child would on mother's milk; and as the suffering patient believes the red chalk given by the medicineman to be gold ash or the white poison to be sugar candy and feels glad; so also they pointed to the railways and post-offices the British Government had established with pride as proof of the govern-

> ment's good intentions and rewards for their faith. Our forbears then, had neither the brains nor the boldness to ask questions about themselves and their rulers, their rights, the rights of the British to rule India and how they got it and why they came here at all. Along with the fear inspired by the weapons and guns of the British army came this faith in their goodness. Hence Madrasis began to believe firmly that whatever the British did was for their good. Government and God's law were equated and to criticize the Government was considered as great a crime as to stray from God's law. But apart from this commonalty immersed in this convenient ignorance of politics, there were a few, educated in the Western tradition, who had their own doubts about the government's deeds. But only strong public opinion can move a government and then as now, the opinions and criticisms of individuals were fruitless.... At this time Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy went his own way without caring for public opinion. When there was famine in two provinces of India he celebrated the Delhi Durbar. When the people had scarcely recovered from the effects of the famine, he imposed more taxes on them. He gagged the Vernacular Press and forbade by law the carrying of arms by Indians. While the people were groaning under all this, there was no representative conference or newspaper (in Madras) to ventilate their grievances. While the people of Bombay and Bengal, at least shouted aloud their grievances through conferences and papers, the Madrasis were unable even to cry out their woes. To be brief, there was no formulated public opinion. This was the state of affairs in Madras when in 1878, G. Subramanya Iyer stepped out of his teaching profession into the wider sphere of public life.

This explanation, florid, verbose, hyperbolic and based on faulty popular history and on exaggerated self-pity for the supposed native characteristics of the Madrasis, nevertheless draws attention to the important fact that in Madras, British rule was welcomed with relief after the anarchy of the 18th century and the blessings of peace did not conduce to critical political thought or vocal language press.

II.—The Gradual Growth.

From 1882 to 1916 the Tamil political press developed slowly but steadily; the oldest Tamil newspaper *Swadesamitran* pioneered in 1882, by G. Subramania Iyer had grown up under his control into early manhood by 1915 when he sold it to A. Rangaswamy Iyengar; some lesser political and social journals began to make their appearance in the later part of this period; and the Madras Administration reports changed their tone from contempt in 1878 to complacency in the first decade of this century to concern near the end of this period. The growth was slow and steady like the very character of the chief and pioneering editor who spanned the period.

The period falls naturally into three sub-divisions; the first seventeen years from 1882 to 1899 were the slow burgeoning years when *Swadesamitran* changed from a weekly to a bi-weekly to a tri-weekly on to a daily in 1899; the next nine years to 1908 saw its secure establishment among the Tamil reading public as *the* Tamil daily and an increasing pace of political consciousness; and in the next eight years (to 1916) it grew in stature and circulation channelling political consciousness into more constitutional agitation.

To understand this period, we need to understand what exactly its key figure G. Subramania Iyer attempted to do and the following passage shows what little hesitation or subtlety he had in his passionate desire for "public education" through his *Hindu* and *Swadesamitran*.[17]

> "In this country the functions and responsibilities of the Press are not the same that are associated with it in the Western Countries and this difference is accentuated under the peculiar conditions in our country and at the present day and more especially in the period which covers the origin and growth of 'The Hindu.'
>
> The Indian Press is not representative of mature public opinion. To represent mature public opinion is only a subordinate function of it because public opinion has no constitutional or regular channel of making itself felt in the Coun-

cils of the Empire. *Its more serious and more important function is to form public opinion, to educate public opinion and to direct to along channels of public utility and public improvement* and this peculiarity of the task of the Indian Press was most particularly felt at the time when *The Hindu* was started. It was the duty of *The Hindu* to create public opinion to reflect and then receive support from it, which it was instrumental in forming."

Both *Swadesamitran* and *The Hindu* were born out of this passionate desire kindled originally by Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government; and during his lecture tours of Tamilnad following its inauguration—he realized the immediate need for a permanent newspaper (in Tamil and English) to supplement political education through the platform.

But this education was based on two basic assumptions and conducted within certain limits. The first assumption was that fundamentally British Government was good and that there was no possible alternative to it for years to come. The second was that it was one's duty, particularly that of an editor, to bring to light any shortcomings or derelictions of duty on the part of officials and grievances of Indian subjects. Both assumptions find frequent expression in his speeches and writings. In the first Congress session of 1885 he thus introduced the first resolution:[18] "By a merciful dispensation of Providence, India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of internal civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the great British power." While this attitude of passionate loyalty changed slowly, Iyer saw no alternative to British rule and he conducted all his campaigns for the betterment of the people on that basis. In a leading article entitled—"Why this distrust of Indians?" he sets out with engaging frankness, his two assumptions that British rule was basically benign but they had to fight with the Government for their rights and for redress of their grievances. In another leading article (of 3rd July 1901,) he refutes imputations of disloyalty, and claims that grievance-airing was a service to the Government and the people.

Such assumptions were of course part of the stock-in-trade of contemporary Congress stalwarts all over India, but in Tamilnad, they had a wider and more undisputed currency through Iyer's editorial dominance right down 1915 —without any serious challenge from more revolutionary rivals.[19] Such criticism of the administration coupled with professed loyalty to the regime made easy too the survival of the newspaper as an educative instrument, an objective enunciated by Sisir Kumar and applauded by Tilak but more effectively carried out by Iyer.[20] The slow transition from loyalty to complacency, concern, and Gandhian non-co-operation in Tamilnad without the interludes of political revivalism, terrorism and frustration, was as much a product of *Mitran's* policy of political education as that policy itself was a product of contemporary Congress liberalism and Tamil love of gradualism. We shall now examine in more detail the political education of Tamilnad and the working out of these assumptions by *Swadesamitran*, the part played by the few other Journals and the net effect on the public and the government.

A—from 1882 to 1889.

Two years after G. Subramania Iyer and T. M. Vijayaraghavachariar founded *The Hindu*, in 1880, they went on to start *Swadesamitran* as a Tamil weekly. Both were managed together till 1899, when G. Subramania Iyer took over the *Swadesamitran* separately under his ownership and control. During these seventeen years *Swadesamitran* changed from a weekly, to a bi-weekly then to a tri-weekly. G. Subramania Iyer seems to have left the day-to-day running in the hands of a veteran Tamil Journalist C. V. Swaminathier—under his own general direction.

We shall first analyse both the presentation and quality of news and the content and argument of the leading articles (of a random sample of the issues)[21] and then draw conclusions about the political education attempted by *Swadesamitran*. The total space of the paper, was four pages of tabloid size (17" x 11½") with 4 columns per

page till 1892, when the format changed to 3 columns per page in 1894 with eight pages, and in 1899 before it became a daily it changed over to full demy size (21" x 14½" per page) with 6 columns per page and an average of 6 pages per issue. Only a part of this increased space was devoted to news and leading articles while the rest was taken up by advertisements.

The relative space devoted to advertisements during this period averages 50% ; it was nearer 25% up to 1887 ; from then up to 1898 it was nearer 50%, while in 1899, it was nearer 75%. It is however, difficult to draw definite conclusions from these figures ; for one thing, the advertisement rates were ridiculously low. (They were Rs. 30 per column for a whole month after 1900 and probably less in the earlier period we deal with). Even with the extremely low production costs of those days, it is difficult to see how the advertisement revenues could have covered a substantial part of the costs. All that we can infer is that the editor did not disdain advertisements and probably entertained as much of them as he could gather—to get as much advertisement revenue—as he could. He probably considered it not only as a legitimate source of earning but also as part of trade news—and a service to his readers ; and it also reduced reliance on subsidies from parties, institutions or private persons.[22]

Of the rest of the space given to news, letters and leading articles, nearly half was occupied by the last and a significant part by the second. Foreign news got very little space mainly because there was no agency through which it was available cheaply and also because there was not much interest in it. All of the foreign news and most of the all-India news was simply " lifted " from the morning's English paper.[23]

Lack of foreign news, could have been a blessing in disguise if local news and Indian news could have been ferreted out. *Swadesamitran* was from its start noted for its good coverage of local Tamilnad news through its voluntary and

part-time correspondents who supplied news of their area to oblige the editor and to get a place in the sun for their little town. The editor too encouraged readers in every issue to write to the editor about their local news and local grievances and warned them simultaneously about the need for truth and accuracy. Local news was gathered too from local weekly news sheets from small towns.[24] But all told, by modern standards the coverage was not outstanding partly because of the inexperience of a pioneering venture in spotting news and building up reader interest. No use was made of the modern aids to make news interesting such as pictures, or head lines—even head lines in a single column. The news was presented under a heading of slightly thicker type, and was not broken up by subheads nor highlighted with boxes and cross-head lines. All this was not probably missed in those days when in many villages the paper was read aloud by the village Karnam, headman or an elder to a large audience of listeners.

But wide use was made of the institution of letters to the editor. Some of them deal with local events of importance and were printed often directly as news. There were others which dealt with local grievances, police outrages and official misdeeds—letters which the editor welcomed and encouraged. The third variety of letters consist of long discussions on general subjects, of which there were only too many. Letters on women's education, Hindu religious reform and inter-marriage among Brahmins—dealing with no specific instances but long-winded and homiletic appeared all too often.

The leading article dominated the editorial space as it then did in the English press too. During this period, Subramania Iyer was busy with his work on '*The Hindu*' as well, but spervised the general editorial policy of *Mitran* suggesting or approving most of the leading articles. Out of the random sample of more than forty leading articles and notes about twenty-eight deal with matters relating to the Madras Presidency and barely eight with either e.g., all India politics

or foreign news.[25] If the editor was modest enough to express his considered views mostly on subjects he could know intimately of, he was also courageous enough to deal with local politics and grievances—stirring up vested interests against him—instead of taking refuge in subjects of international interest. These leading articles also illustrate the assumptions and the methods of the political education he set out to impart. Many of these dealt with cases of official misbehaviour and the grievances of ryots. The first editorial of the 9th of June 1890, is a typical example. Starting with a general attack on increasing police atrocities—and attributing them to low-paid ignorant subordinates and racially arrogant superiors, it goes on to dilate on the most recent instance in Punjab where an official order to make note of the suspects in a case, was carried out with such deliberate brutality that many respectable gentlemen and even ladies were publicly interrogated. It is noted that *The Tribune's* strong leading article led to an enquiry by Mr. Lyall who ultimately congratulated the paper on its bold exposure. Iyer stresses the obvious inference, namely, the efficacy of press exposure in a leading article of May 20th, 1892, captioned "Writing to the Press never goes in vain." He deals at length with the four dry districts in North Madras which were reported as not famine-struck by the Governor of Madras and how the truth came out by press exposure and Lord Wenlock was hauled over the coals by Parliament. Reference is also made to another instance of the Tashildar of Tiruvellore taluk collecting *kist* in spite of near famine conditions and how *Swadesamitran's* exposure led to an enquiry by the Collector who supported the Tashildar. In a succeeding editorial note, he refers to the secrecy of the enquiry and gross neglect of the ryots, admonishes the people who did not participate in the enquiry or write to the press. An earlier editorial note on *Jamabandhis*[26] in the issue of 11th July, 1890—refers to the tirade carried against official *Jamabandhis* by *Swadesamitran* and the virtual acceptance of the argument by Ragunatha Rao, the Revenue Board Member. In many other leading articles and notes *Swadesamitran* argued that

'Jamabandhi' itself was unnecessary if there was normal and efficient revenue administration.

Police misbehaviour always brought forth some very fierce criticism from the editor of *Mitran.* The second leading article (of March 24th of 1896)—deals with the inadequacy of one-man enquiries into Police misbehaviour—in connection with a riot of Moplahs in Malabar which was put down with much cruelty and enquired into by the local Collector Winterbotham. The Editor returns to the subject in the leading article (of July 14th, 1899) under the caption "Praising the Police," and joins issue with Winterbotham who refuted Raghunatha Rao's complaints against the Police, and went out of his way to praise the Police. The article cites many decisions of Judge Davis in Tanjore, dismissing most cases of murder as police concoctions and also Winterbotham's own earlier dismissals of many Police cases. It goes on to say that police excesses would increase if magistrates praise them and that many stationary Magistrates promoted through passing departmental examinations could easily succumb to police blandishments.

Other local issues which figure much in *Swadesamitran* are the affairs of the Madras Corporation, and other municipalities, local industries, the Madras University and appointments to the Provincial Services. Many leading articles deal in detail with the expenditure of the Madras Corporation, point out possible savings and suggest new measures. The development of local industries on a Co-operative or a Limited Company basis is another recurrent theme. The promotion of obedient subordinates to responsible posts was also strongly opposed in other articles and competitive selection is advocated in the appointment of Deputy Collectors.

Comment on foreign Affairs was generally related to India. Discussion of Indian affairs in Britain and propaganda for the Indian cause were among those subjects. The leading article of September 26th, 1893 discusses the debate in Parliament on the Indian Budget, and the demand for a Royal Commission by Bailey and concludes on a note of

subdued optimism about the growing pro-Indian feeling in Britain. Another leading article (in the September 15th issue of 1888) deals with the Indian Agency in London and praises the work done by the Editor of the *Madras Times*, Sir William Digby. The advocacy of the Indian cause by William Bradlaugh and Hume is gratefully referred to. In other articles, the "wasteful" border wars indulged in by the Government of India are the subject of strong criticism. The leading article of September 13th of 1895, deals with the publication of 'Chitral Papers' and the disclosure of large waste of money on border wars. The leading articles of Jan. 10th, 1896 comes back to the subject with a sly note on the debacle of English Arms in Armenia against Turkey, and a pointed question about Russian designs on India.

Social reform was discussed often in general terms as well as in regard to particular instances. The caustic leading article in the February 8th of 1899, deals with the Mahant of Thirupati under the caption "The rascality of the Thirupati Mahant." The Mahant, reported to have seduced the wife of Sreenivasulu Naidu, was the respondent in a case which was compounded later and, the leading article demands his replacement; another leading article pours ridicule on Sub-Judge Ramaswamy Iyengar, 60 years old, marrying a 13 year old girl. Iyer was certainly not afraid of libel actions!

To complete the picture of Tamil political journalism a few words have to be said about some other journals with some interest in politics. The two older weekly news sheets *Dina Varthamani* and *Vetty Codyone* seemed to have slowly lost circulation[27]—though it is likely that they exercised some influence among Tamil Christian readers directly and even more indirectly through reprinted extracts in Christian religious periodicals such as *Sathya Thuthan* (Monthly, circulation 5500) and *Porsattam* (fortnightly, circulation 2750) with large circulations and many others with smaller circulations.[28] Such influence (pro-British) on the Chris-

tian community with the educational and social awareness of a young small cohesive minority—might have been an important factor under more democratic conditions but it is rather doubtful if the ruling bureaucracy was more than mildly thankful for it.

A large number of general periodicals are listed by the Registrar but few of them can be called even mildly interested in politics and many of them probably made irregular appearances.[29] A journal (referred to mistakenly, I believe, as a daily) called *Pandyanesan* of Madura was even attributed a circulation of 5000 in 1890—though it probably made a lightning appearance to die an early death. Other general periodicals such as *Hindu Desabhimani, Kalaganithan, Dinodaya Vartamani, Dravida Vartamani, Maha Vigada Thuthan, Lokopakari, Lokabandu* and *Janopakari,* published political articles from time to time.

There seem to have been a number of local news-sheets too (as listed in the Administration Reports). They had a potential advantage in their relative freedom from the competition of metropolitan dailies, and an interesting task in covering local news and cleansing local Augean stables. In fact, however, they appeared irregularly and led a precarious life without much local readership to sustain. Extracts from some of these appearing in *Swadesamitran* suggest that their local reporting was competent. At least in one instance a local editor, who disagreed with the views of the proprietor, successfully started his own journal and earned editorial approval from *Swadesamitran.*[30]

What sort of overall political education did the Tamil public receive from *Swadesamitran* and such other journals as were interested in politics? What effect did they have on their readers, and on the ruling bureaucracy during this period? The answer must take into account their circulations, the news and leading articles, the general political attitude of editors, the attitude of the ruling bureaucracy through its actions and reports and any felt response from the reading public. It can only be an inaccurate answer, since

the public and official mind were exposed to a multitude of other forces too, such as the local platform and the English press; moreover, official thoughts not leading to overt action are rarely recorded.

In regard to circulation the journalistic arena of Tamilnad—was dominated by the Christian religious periodicals and a few non-political general periodicals. They usually included one or two last pages on current news—usually with no comment or an expression of loyalty to the British Raj.[31] Their total effect was to keep large sections of the reading public safe from the Raj. Thus, 'political education' was attempted directly only by *Swadesamitran* through presenting the available foreign and local news without any modern eye-catching aids and through the direct detailed discussion of the leading article. Subtlety as well as showmanship were both shunned in preference to sincere argument and exhortation. The question is thus reduced to what effect *Swadesamitran's* education had on readers, events and the ruling bureaucracy, against a backdrop of general indifference by the rest of the press.

If circulation were to be the yardstick, the showing is rather poor, for it never exceeded a thousand till 1900 (according to the Government Administration Reports). But each copy was read at least by ten persons or probably more, when it was read aloud in the village *chavadi* to a group of listeners, and an effective circulation of 20,000 might be claimed. The readers (and listeners) were mostly composed of the village *mirasdars* middle class school teachers and small merchants, and less than ten per cent of the total circulation was in the city of Madras itself (which is the pattern even to-day). The readership thus made up of the conservative lower middle class outside the capital, rarely expressed itself politically. There was no perceptible effect on them but the slow cumulative effect on a class untouched by the English press was probably quite deep—even if it could not be measured in terms of its concrete political activity.

The Mardas Government Administration Reports show no signs of the bureaucrats getting worried about these early attempts at political journalism.[32] They were aware of it through their press extracts and thankful too as a non-responsible but responsive bureauracy for these insights into public opinion and editorial policy.[33] There were instances (according to the internal evidence in *Swadesamitran's* leading articles) when criticism of official deeds led to some remedial action; probably there were other instances in which the possibility of criticism forestalled misbehaviour. The relief was often dramatic when the criticism was directed against a patriotic local notable like the *Sethupathi.*[34] All in all *Swadesamitran* and Tamilnad had to wait for several years before press publicity and criticism were matched by measurable popular and official reaction.

B.—1899 to 1908.

The year 1908, forms a clear watershed in the long period from 1899 to 1916. The first half from 1899 to 1908 witnessed a sudden increase in the tempo and texture of political activity—with the rise of Swadeshism, boycott and terrorism in Bengal, revolutionarism in Punjab and Tilakian mass politics in Bombay—followed by government repression and consequent frustration. The second half started with the Government's stringent measures but ended with the emergency of constitutional radicalism led by Messrs. Besant and Tilak.

Journalistically the most important event of the 1899—1908 period was the conversion of *Swadesamitran* from a tri-weekly into a daily by the middle of 1899. The change was carefully prepared for; announcements were made in the early months of the year to the effect that the daily would contain news from all sources, from Reuters and English papers and about all the events in Tamilnad all for an annual subscription of Rs. 18 *i.e.*, more cheaply than the English dailies such as *Madras Times, The Hindu* or the *Madras Mail;* and the name of the editor was prominently mentioned partly to indicate his assumption of *de facto*

editorship and partly to attract circulation thereby. The first Tamil daily had to face all the difficulties of a pioneering venture and friends pointed out that it was not an economically sound proposition, as the number of politically conscious people was small and those who would buy a Tamil daily instead of an English one was even smaller. Iyer was probably quite aware of S. N. Banerjee's qualms about converting his weekly *Bengalee* into a daily in 1879[35] and of the peculiar difficulties of an Indian language daily reaching its slow-moving country clientele through slow trains letting "hot news" get cold, though fortunately, there was no faster news-dispersing agency like the wireless to compete with. Iyer did not probably indulge in all this nice balancing of pros and cons; for him the compelling reasons was his personal zeal to play a leading part in public affairs. and he hoped to regain his opportunity to do so after leaving *The Hindu*, through his new Tamil daily.[36] He never seriously regretted the financial embarrassments that harassed him for years thereafter but revelled in opening for himself new horizons—that proved broader than he hoped for.

The size of the paper was increased in 1899, even as a tri-weekly to the modern demy page size (with 6 columns). The number of pages, varied from four to six; when there were four pages, the first and the last contained advertisements, and when there were six pages—the first, fourth, fifth and sixth pages contained advertisements; and thus the additional pages were evidently used to accommodate advertisements. But there is little reason to assume that this indicated overwhelming prosperity, for the rates during the period were ridiculously low (an average Rs. 30|- per column for a whole month) even for the then standard of wages, costs and prices. Iyer probably considered them no more than as a legitimate source of revenue, (however small) and a service to his country readers.

The total editorial space was on an average 11 columns per day rarely going up to 16. The increase in news-space was small because the paper could not afford expensive news

services; news of the country area—came from original correspondents; most of the All-India news and foreign news was taken from the English morning papers; and 11 columns were as much as any editorial staff could fill up in those days. Foreign news still continued to be sparse and rarely exceeded two columns even during the ten days of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904. There was a lack of not only news-services but also the serving up of news with proper additions and explanations. The main bulk of editorial space was occupied by Indian news—both of Tamilnad and the rest of India. This was an important change—compared to the earlier period—when the leaders and news columns were often equal in length.[37] *Swadesamitran* was becoming a 'newspaper' partly due to the deliberate policy pursued by the editor to print more news and partly due to the changing times with stirring events happening in partitioned Bengal, Tilak's Bombay and in the southern end of Tamilnad in Tuticorin and, though the news was printed as of old without any display, headlines and boxes, its intrinsic interest was obvious. On the other hand there was considerable decrease in the space devoted to 'letters to the editor'; the common letters on general subjects were probably 'spiked' to provide more space for news; the letters probably got shorter and more to the point; and letters on official misdeeds of the older days probably came to be less common.

The straight-from-the-shoulder leading article was as usual, the chief medium through which the editor of *Swadesamitran* conducted 'political education.' The number of leading articles dealing with purely local events decreased mainly because of the growing interest in All-India politics but they performed the function of exposing official misdeeds. A fighting editorial (5th September, 1907) entitled "Will a lesson be taught to Dr. Kemp" inveigles against the habit of Englishmen trying to hide each other's faults, and the damage done to faith in British justice. The leading article deplores the consequent riots and the deployment of punitive police in *Coconada*. The next leading article of

the same day criticises the judgment of Mr. Clark on school-boys involved in riots in an exhibition. The leading article castigates him for brazenly relying on the evidence of a single Christian against all the teachers and for the severe punishment of the boys. A leading article on the affairs of the Madras Corporation (July 5th, 1902) deplores the re-appointment as president for another year of Sir George Moore as an unwise choice of an old and obstinate man at Rs. 2000 instead of a new man at a mere Rs. 800. Another short editorial note (of 10th August, 1904) inveigles against the Corporation Members who elected Desikachari a retired government servant to the Legislative Council to swell the ranks of government supporters, instead of Theagaroya Chettiar. The leading article of 16th March, 1905, deplores the centralization of Lord Curzon, and approves of Mr. Sly's advice to Tanjore ryots to avoid litigation and attend to their fields. The second leading article of June 28th, 1907, criticizes the *Jamabhandi* Report for saying that there was enough rain in all districts except Tirunelveli and condemns the subordinate revenue officers who collected *kist* from ryots under conditions of scarcity. Another leading article of 13th August 1906 criticizes the appointment of the Advocate-General Wallis as High Court Judge over the head of Sankaran Nair who had twice acted on the Bench and calls for agitation by the Mahajan Sabha and the Lawyer's Associations. Among other editorials of local interest is one on Curzon's Education Committee's Report on making study of Sanskrit compulsory. A critical leading article (of September 16th, 1902) points out that even Brahmin boys found Sanksrit difficult and such knowledge cannot be improved later nor would it be of much use, with journals being conducted in Tamil and other languages.

On an All-India level, the theme of most editorials was the ruin of India's handicrafts, the grinding poverty of the villages, the deadly economic stagnation and the need for industrial regeneration.[38] The leading article of May 2nd 1902 on the Delhi Durbar Exhibition draws attention to the decline of Indian industries under British rule through

competition from manufactured articles and hopes that the exhibition would give a fillip to our handicrafts. The leader of June 23rd 1902 captioned "Wake up-your wealth is being drained"—deals with the large scale exports of raw materials from India at low prices and a note of 20th June the same year calls for more investment from Englishmen. The leader of 10th August, of the same year under the caption "Why there is no industrial development in India," attributed it to the hoarding habit and investment in land and jewels and the fear resulting from the failure of a few companies. The main leading article of 22nd September, 1905 on the newly started Indian Co-operative Industries Ltd., — calls on people of Madras to give the lie to the imputation that they are just men of words and asks them to buy up the shares quickly. Another note of 22nd May 1906 calls attention to the fact that the British-sponsored Deshi Cloth Mills has collected all its share capital and begun work for the last three months. The leading article of 14th February, 1906, on Trade Associations urges on our merchants and manufacturers the need of unity to make any substantial progress. The article of 8th September of the same year rails against the craze for low-paid Government jobs of our graduates and the arrogance of departmental heads who want Matriculates even for *Mochi's* jobs, and asks parents to educate their children for trade and commerce. In another leading article on Gaikwar Maharajah's speech on our industries (in the issue of January 12th 1907)—the export of raw materials is condemned and new manufactures possible in our country are detailed.

The grinding poverty of the Indian villages is a recurrent theme in several leading articles. The leader of 2nd May of 1900 refutes the government propaganda that the Indian peasant is prosperous by referring to his indebtedness and the fifteen famines from 1878 onwards. The leading article of July 15th returns to the same subject referring to government's tall talk about good agricultural prices and possible profits and explains how the prices could not benefit the Indian peasant without a surplus—actually selling his

yield at low prices immediately after the harvest for kist and loans. In a leading article in the issue of June 23rd, it is pointed out how the apparent prosperity of the towns is misleading as the peasants in the villages are still poor and indebted. Again, writing on famine relief (in the issue of July 3rd)—Curzon's allegation about India's lack of charity is refuted by pointing out how only a fraction of the famine-sufferers get Government relief. In a succeeding note a Grains Bank is advocated in Bengal for famine days. The leaders of 22nd July 1904 discuss how the land tax is assessed without due allowance for the ryot's expenses and how compulsory payment of taxes during bad harvests get him deep into debt.

Iyer's criticisms of indentured emigration also attributed the evil to the harassing poverty in the villages and a neglect of India's resources. The leading article (of 5th February 1907) points out how South Africa's treatment of Indians and its toleration by the Government of India—is undermining Indian loyalty while another leading article (of 30th July 1902) under the caption "Why should Indians go to foreign lands for a livelihood?", describes the sufferings of ten lakhs of Indians overseas and suggests the development of our vast acres of fallow land and unexploited mineral resources.

Iyer charged British rule with India's economic stagnation, partly because he was closely interested in the subject throughout his public career and partly because such criticism, like criticism of bureaucratic mistakes, was easier to make within the bounds of his editorial assumptions of the 'goodness' of British rule. Iyer retained this assumption as is clear from leading articles bearing directly on the subject. The leader of 12th July, 1904, captioned "Why this suspicion of Indians?" is the most important confession of faith during this period. It argues that one cannot throw doubt on the loyalty of Indians because a few Muslim sepoys rose against British rule in 1858. If the Government does not trust Indians with their due share in the

army or civil services, the inevitable results would be Indian mistrust. But no good can come out of an armed revolt, no Indian king can be installed nor can he defend the country against Russians or Germans. He concludes that British rule does good at least slowly but British are losing popular support through their own fault. The leader of 3rd July, 1900 agreeing with Lord Morely's observations on the great political work done by Englishmen and Scotsmen in India points out that heavy taxation and paternalism has ruined people's initiative, and also resents the imputation of disloyalty. Another note of June 10th the same year refers to Naoroji's charge that India was governed for Britain's good —and Lord Hamilton's rejoinder. The main leading article of May 22nd, 1906—under the caption "Must rule with love," returns to the same subject. Referring to the statements of the Prince of Wales and Lord Morley at Guild Hall that India must be ruled with love, the leader points out that "love" has been claimed as the basic motive by even tyrants like Lord Curson. Love included not only conferring material benefits but also respecting the ancient people of India and training them for freedom in course of time. The article concludes that British government has failed in the latter.

It is clear that Iyer's basic attitudes were changing, if somewhat slowly ; the right to criticize was now stressed as strongly as the necessity of loyalty ; and in doing this, Iyer was reflecting his own mental evolution as well as following the more radical trends in Bengal and Bombay. Bengali revivalism and patriotism had burst into flame in 1904, after the partition of Bengal as political agitation on the one hand and the *Swadeshi* movement on the other ; the fire caught on in Poona under Tilak's leadership ; and their sparks travelled to the distant South. Bepin Chandra Pal personally carried the message to Madras shaming the local Moderates with his unbridled tongue, while Tilak kindled a more active spark through Chidambaram Pillai's shipping venture in Tuticorin and the attendant political awakening. Iyer's personal reaction to this rapid pace of events was somewhat

cautious in the beginning becoming more sympathetic and even enthusiastic. But the mounting concern of the Government of India and provincial governments near the end of this period precipitated restrictive legislation and action from which dragnet Iyer did not escape without a deep scar. His arrest while on vacation in *Kutrālam*, his journey to Madras and detention under deliberately humiliating conditions and the further humiliation of an apology and undertaking do desist from seditious writing constituted a traumatic experience—though *Swadesamitran* carried on without any fuss or apparent change.[39]

1908—1916.

The next period was one of slow political rebuilding; the earlier period had witnessed the fizzling out of terrorism and the fiasco of the Surat Congress; the impetus of the Bengal partition movement and the *Swadeshi* movement had nearly spent itself; the self-confidence generated by Japan's victory in 1905 had cooled down; and, in short the extremists and terrorists were retiring from the field for the time being. The new period naturally started with the Government's campaign of press restriction. In 1908, the Government of India passed THE PRESS INCITEMENT TO OFFENCES ACT and widened the scope of the Officials Secrets Act, the Public Meetings Act, the Press Act, the Sedition Law, the Explosives Act and the Seditious Meetings Act. This was followed by the more stringent Indian Press Act of 1910. At the same time the Government was also giving political concessions to the Moderates with the other hand through the Minto-Moreley Reforms scheme, *i.e.*, the Indian Councils Act of 1909, stirring new hopes in them. With extremists such as Tilak, Lajpat Rai and B. C. Pal safely out of the way, they controlled the Congress, and brought down the political tempo. The year 1908 is thus a clear watershed in the history of Indian Nationalism. The forces which started accumulating from 1904, were nearly exhausted in that year and from then on till 1916 it was a slow preparatory period of the Home rule agitation of 1917 and the Ghandhian non-cooperation of 1920.

Of the two principal political journals of this period, *Swadesamitran* and *India*, we will take up the latter first as the more unusual. After a prosecution against the nominal editor of *India* in Madras, its great editor Bharati made haste to go to Pondicherry, where it made its reappearance by October 1909.[40] The issues had an average of 10 pages crown size with the last two pages devoted to advertisements. The front page was usually devoted to a political cartoon with cartoons on other pages as well. The second, third and fourth pages were devoted to political and literary articles and letters from correspondents in London or Boston; the fifth and sixth pages contained the leading articles and editorial notes and the other pages were devoted to news, both foreign and Indian.

Bharati was an absolute pioneer in Tamil journalism in using political cartoons; earlier, Tamil journals like *Jana Vinodhini* reproduced cartoons from English journals; but Bharati's were original as well as Indian. They were always provocative, humorous and hard-hitting as illustrated by the following examples. The issue of November 20th, 1909 frontpaged a cartoon on the relative harm done by the bomb-thrower and the British bureaucrat, both being weighed in the balance with the latter shown as the greater evil. Another cartoon in the same issue depicted the *Deepavali Devi* giving gifts to Indians in *Swadeshi*, a third on the Minto-Moreley Reforms showed the Lords boring the mountain to bring out a mouse; a fourth was on the Deepavali bath, a fifth was of *Bharata Devi* as *Mahalakshmi* showering wealth on India; a sixth pictured *Bharata Devi* being worshipped by the Goddess of *Deepavali*, and a seventh portrayed Lord *Krishna* telling Indians (in the form of *Arjuna*) to do their duty to get *Swaraj*. The issue of November 27th, showed a front-page cartoon on the Reforms—an elephant with its excreta with a caption that what the elephant brought forth was not a young one but excreta; and another cartoon in the same issue portrayed Rangachari speaking in English to an audience of Tamils who fall asleep. The frontpage cartoon of December 4th, re-

presented the Indian Nationalists as lightning conductors taking the brunt of official oppression; there was another of the *Vedas* of *Swadeshism;* another on unity representing Lord *Shanmukha* with his six heads as the six provinces of India, a fourth representing *Gaekwar* as the gardener of *Swadeshi;* and a fifth cartoon portraying the Moderate S. N. Banerjee as unwilling to bandage his eyes. The next issue displayed a cartoon on the Lahore Congress, with the Moderates ranged against the Extremists; a second on the national flag; a third showing Ghandi as the cow which kept its promise and surrendered itself to the South African tiger; and a fourth of *Nandanar* in *Chidambaram.*

The foregoing account shows how widely Bharati used cartoons, with at least three in each issue and even seven in some; the cartoons are not legally offensive and there is no malice in their ridicule of Lord Morely, the Moderates and the British bureaucrats, and there is a strong flavour of religious and epical lore and an undercurrent of emotional nationalism—witness the veneration of India as the *Bharata Mata,* as the *Bharata Devi,* and the scenes from *Gita.* This is hardly surprising as Baharati took his emotional nationalism from B. C. Pal and his political accent to the *Gita* from Tilak.

Since *India* was not a mere news weekly, news as such did not figure prominently in its pages. About three pages were devoted to news items while another might contain a letter from a London or Boston correspondent. The news items headed by small captions were liberally mixed with comment. The fare was varied and included foreign news evidently culled from other English dailies and *Swadesamitran.*

Its special features were its articles and notes in the first five or six pages. *India* was deliberately propagandist and the articles aimed to convert 'lethargist' Tamils to the cult of nationalism. While there were a few non-political articles such as one on *Buddha's* relics (December 11th) or Halley's Comet, the majority were predominantly political. They were full of fervant emotional nationalism of the

Bengali type; India was the *Bharat Mata* and patriotism was a religious duty, the worship of the Mother Goddess. Typical examples were the article on *Deepavali* as a national liberation day from the forces of evil (November 20th, 1909) and the new *Karthikai* festival as a festival of unity (December 4th 1909) or the leading articles in three successive issues in November and December 1909 on the triple concepts of fraternity, equality and liberty. The issues of February 1910 are important to us for their sustained criticism of the Press Act to be enacted and the 19th February issue summed it up with a cartoon on the Press Act depicting it as trying to quell the fire with a fan.

It is important to summarize these notes and editorials since the only other Tamil political journal *Swadesamitran*, adopted a less critical attitude. In the leading article of February 8th, *India* joins issue with *Swadesamitran* for its editorial of 3rd February regarding the proposed legislation. The leading article referred to classified newspapers as British-owned English papers, Indian-owned English papers and Indian-owned vernacular newspapers. About the last *Swadesamitran* said:

> "Most of those who conduct these are men without much prestige or education. The readers are also the common people ignorant of English. The papers are shortlived and those who conduct the papers, do not have much influence, or education, and are unable to express their views with courtesy and moderation. They use rough and provocative language which the simple folk read with pleasure."

India retorted.

> "*Swadesamitran* has forgotten that it is also a Vernacular newspaper. The Government prosecuted it for seditious writings and collected security from its editor G. Subramanya Iyer, who is learned in politics through study and experience. Is Iyer without experience of the world or are his readers so simple or did he propagate falsehood? The only Tamil daily has also now become the advocate of British Government and the friend of

the English newspapers! It has toned down even its moderate policy to play second fiddle to the Government."

India also suggests that the editorial might be Government-inspired since details of the Bill not yet published are discussed in *Swadesamitran.* The next issue of February 12th dealt with the Act in all its aspects. The notes pointed out that the Act was harmful to the Government and the people and that the bureaucracy was always the enemy of the Press as Lord Bentinck admitted in 1806. The note quoted at length from *Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's* appeal against the Adam regulations of his time. Another note on the speech of Sir Herbert Risely referred to his quoting criticisms of the Government from a number of papers. These were not lies and evidently the Government wanted to label those who tell the truth as seditionists, and expected the papers to tell them all is well. A full page editorial then went on to reveal that the Act was not aimed at the Anglo-Indian Papers propagating race enmity. There was further criticism on other pages and the debate on the Bill was summarized, commending Malavya and Bose and condemning the Moderates who supported it.

Simultaneously with his opposition to the Press Act Bharati started expanding his activities. He seems to have started a daily *Vijaya* extracts from which appear in India, but how or how long this daily lived, we do not know. He also announced a new Tamil paper *Karmayogin* and a pictorial journal *Chitravali.* The latter was probably never started, while *Karmayogin* lived a short life. Early in 1910, Bharati proposed to change over *India* to a tri-weekly on getting a minimum of 1000 subscribers in advance. All these ambitious schemes came to nothing as *India* was already falling on evil days. The Madras Government banned its entry into British India and shortly after the imposition of the ban, *India* stopped publication.

What was *India's* contribution to the political education of Tamilnad? It probably influenced the minds at least of 50,000.[41] This influence assumed no perceptible

form since it did not ventilate local grievances which could have been remedied by the Government. Its true effect was a long-term one of training a core of young and middle-aged readers to take a strong nationalist attitude to politics from among whom came the campaigners for Home Rule in 1917, the non-cooperators of 1920 and some editors of nationalist periodicals.

That old political educator of Tamilnad *Swadesamitran* was undergoing some changes too. The same two-to-four columns were devoted to leading articles, but the total editorial space increased from twelve to more than twenty columns mainly because of the greater availability of news both Indian and foreign. There was less need too to use the leading article as the chief educative medium for a more mature readership. But it would be reasonable to assume that the expanding readership of the middle class still looked up to their leading article for political guidance.

The increased space was apportioned as before, over half for advertisement—warranting the conclusion that *Swadesamitran* was more in demand as an advertising medium. There were significant changes too in the distribution of news space;[42] foreign news, which usually occupied an insignificant place spurted into prominence with the first World War, occupying 10 to 16 columns. But this was toned down in 1915 and 1916, due partly to flagging interest as the war settled down to a cold watching across the trenches and partly due to imposition of censorship. Besides the increase in news it was better classified too after 1915, as local or All-India News, city news, provincial news and court news.

But a more important innovation was the art of giving head lines—introduced with the beginning of the first World War. Two column headlines made their appearance in 1914 and these were six or seven lines deep, all under a common caption 'War in Europe' with the following lines giving the gist of the important events. In spite of this monotony, however, the headlines served their main purpose of drawing

attention to items of news appearing below and they had the negative virtue of being comparatively impartial. The headline had come to stay and was to be used with more refinement and effectiveness in the twenties and thirties during Gandhiji's Satyagraha campaigns.

The leading articles of this period up to 1913, dealt with nearly the same old subjects;[43] the majority were concerned with Indian themes and among them the emphasis was still on developing Indian trade and industry, on the folly of investing in land, on *Swadeshi* and protective duties on foreign imports. The editorial was still an educative weapon and not infrequently was a general exegesis on *Swadeshi* or Indian industry without any specific reference to a contemporary event. As in earlier days it employed generously argument, exhortation, warning and reiteration in addition to presenting facts. The general attitude to British rule was still one of cooperation with criticism of particular lapses. The general policy of constitutional agitation for Dominion Status was toned down by a more cooperative and less critical attitude towards the bureaucracy partly owing to Iyer's traumatic experience in 1908 and partly to his increasing suspicion 'reckless' agitation.

The editorials of 1914, dealt mostly with war topics. They are usually summaries of news with explanations for the lay Tamil reader. One leading article dealt with the arrival of British troops in France, commending it as a successful secret operation, another with the German advance in Belgium as a foolish provocation of Britain, and a third on the possibility of starting Indian industries to make up for declining imports. But by 1915 and definitely by 1916 the war had lost its topical interest and attention moved back to old favourites such as education through the mother tongue, local self-government, Assembly elections and the Reform proposals.

Some mention must be made of a few other journals which indirectly contributed to political education. The journal *Gnana Bhanu* started in 1911 by *Subrahmanya*

Siva—who was sentenced along with *V. O. Chidambaram Pillai* as a political agitator—was mainly religious and cultural but its continuous harking back to India's great past was indeed part of Hindu revivalism. So was another journal *Lokopakari* of Nelliappar, which devoted much space to the Indian and in particular Tamil heritage. *Purnachandrodayam* of Madura—a journal of the Theosophical Society too was full of India's spiritual achievements. This revivalism was however much less emotional in Tamilnad than in Bengal though it had the same patriotic overtones.

Another significant feature of the period was the launching of communal journals like *Bhuloka Vyasan* (Scheduled castes) *Vaikhanasan* (Vaishnavite sect), *Viswakarman* and *Viswakarma Kulopakari* (for wood and metal workers), containing articles on the consolidation of their caste and demands for its 'recognition.' This caste-consciousness reflected and developed by these journals was the fertile ground on which the Justice Party was planted later.

The period which ushered the most stringent press restrictions ended up with new hopes which few people in 1909, could have dared to voice. In early 1909 Tamilnad's pioneering political educator Subramanya Iyer had been forced into a mood of caution and *Bharati* had been forced to seek asylum in Pondicherry for himself and his meteoric *India.* The Press Act of 1910 and attendant restrictions on press freedom put an end to *India,* made *Swadesamitran* even more cautious and generally encouraged journalistic timidity. The total number of Tamil Journals dropped considerably by 1912,[44] but the first World War changed all this almost overnight. New dailies, such as *Intraiya Seithi* were started to exploit the thirst for war news; dailies with a precarious existence such as *Hindu Nesan* gathered new circulation and new hopes; *Swadesamitran* itself spurted up in circulation to 9500 in 1914; the Government was keen to please the press to get its support for the war effort; and above all the war ushered in useful techniques in news presentation such as the head line and news classification.

The Tamil Press at last began to cause concern to the Government of Madras. It is significant that Madras was not excluded from the operation of the Press Acts of 1908 and 1910. The Administration Reports too show varying concern with the general attitude of the press; in 1908, the 'criticism' of government was not 'temperate' particularly regarding the sentences on V. O. Chidambaranar and his associates; during the next four years the press was under strict control through the Press Acts, and the Bharati's *India* had been strangled and even in 1914 and 1915, the Government was satisfied with the tone of the journals and the increase in their number—though there were seventeen occasions when security was forfeited by journals and twenty-four editors were warned. But in 1916 the Government was definitely alarmed that "the general tone of the press became much more virulent during the year and there was a marked tendency to use freer and stronger language in referring both to political and general subjects"—and attributed this to the influence of Annie Besant's *New India*. We are however closing our story just before the beginning of Besant's journal and her Home Rule movement. Till then the Government was concerned with the slow rise of Tamil political consciousness and once even panicked in the face of the dramatic outburst of patriotism in Tuticorin—but showed no alarm.

The reaction of the readers is hard to judge in the absence of any visible indicators in the period itself. The Tuticorin happenings were somewhat isolated acts of heroism due to the singlemindedness of Chidambaranar and his associates and their powerful oratory—than due to any press campaign. Rather it was their brilliant failure that probably induced Bharati to give a more permanent form to patriotic platform propaganda in the shape of his *India*. On the other hand the slow cumulative effect of the political education of the Tamil journals produced a substantial effect in the years after 1916. The almost sudden spurt of Tamil political activity from 1916 onwards in the Home Rule movement and later in Ghandhian non-cooperation

would appear less miraculous and less attributable to the magnetism of contemporary leaders if we give due credit to the labours of Tamilnad's less dramatic political educators till 1916.

A General Evaluation.

The whole long period from 1878 to 1916, forms one unit in many respects; in the first place the period is one of gradual development—compared to the periods that followed it; secondly, it was the period of *Swadesamitran* and G. Subramania Iyer, who dominated it and thirdly it was the period of direct political education by self-confessed political educators.

An important reason for the 'gradualness' of the Tamil press is fairly obvious. Throughout this long period, political movements which started in Bengal and Bombay produced echoes in Tamilnad. It was Bepin Chandra Pal from Bengal that disturbed the political calm of the Madras Moderates in 1908, and it was Tilak's followers in Madras that spread the gospel of *Swaraj*. The founding of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company by *V. O. Chidambaram Pillai* and his associates and the political activity in Tuticorin were an exception to this, but this happened at one end of Tamilnad. Not till 1916, did Tamilnad witness a change in this state of things—when Mrs. Besant made her headquarters right in Madras and started her Home Rule movement. It is not easy for the most gifted editor to stir up political interest through happenings in another part of the country. The press lives on news of events and the nearer the event the greater is the possibility of keenly interesting the reader and conversely stirring the reader to further action. This natural circular process did not start operating in Tamilnad till 1916 during which time the Tamil Press lived on 'imported' news for its political education.

What were the methods of these self-confessed public educators? They were forthright when they preached and proclaimed their convictions and exhorted the readers to

suitable action. There was no subterfuge, no subtlety and not even the meanest refinements in doing this; *Swadesamitran* presented news, even stirring news of events in Tamilnad such as the trial of Chidambaranar or the detention of its own editor without any headlines till 1914; and even Bharati's cartoons and his patriotic notes in revivalistic guises were far from modern suggestive propaganda. But this haranguing and dull news presentation worked after a fashion—at least without express reader-resentment—mainly because (i) the lower middle-class readers had evidently enough time and patience to read the paper from the title of imprint; (ii) at least some readers were in active communication with the editor and interested in a deep personal way in their paper and (iii) haranguing was in contemporary Tamilnad the accepted method of education—adopted by religious preachers, teachers, parents and elders.

The readers whom they harangued were neither the poor illiterate masses nor the highly westernized English newspaper reading minority, but a portion of the lower middle-class consisting of small-scale landowners, merchants, school-teachers and the like—a class ambitious for its sons yet conventional in outlook, fond of the good things of life and yet hugging dearly its marginal security.[45] That doyen of Tamil journalists G. Subramania Iyer and that stormy petrel Bharati were both born into this class, knew its strength and weaknesses, loved and despised it. The former appealed essentially to its reason and its enlightened selfishness—to come out more openly with its grievances, to agitate, to participate in public activity and industrial development. Even Bharati's appeal to some self-sacrifice was not devoid of this rationalist technique—for indeed the appeal was to that long-term self-interest which was being ruined by an apparently safe immediate servility.

Over and above the basic resemblance there was an important difference of method between the two. Iyer's technique was that of the Victorian liberal—the technique of persuasion with facts and arguments. Bharati employed in

addition Hindu revivalism with the technique of auto-suggestion to a supposedly strong stout-hearted Indian with a great heritage and *ergo* greater potentialities. But at his best Bharati never overdid this—in contrast to popular misconceptions.[46] Iyer again used the spoken Tamil of the professional upper middle class—with its Brahminisms and Anglicisms, with a currency of Sanskrit and English words often badly transliterated.[47] This, let us admit, was an immense improvement on the Pulavar Tamil which could not have reached his audience at all. Iyer also inherited much from the long and altogether bad influence of English syntax on Tamil prose-writing. The influence lasted till Bharati and V. V. S. Iyer, Siva and Chidambaranar started consciously fashioning a Tamil prose style free from this legacy and real fruition came only in the next period when Thiru. Vi. Ka. entered the field with his new challenge and Varadarajulu Naidu with his colleagues started setting new standards in clarity. Bharati's writings in this period were the real starting point that inspired these later efforts.

The total showing is poor indeed to a cursory observer of these early years of Tamil political journalism ; the late and unsure beginning and the limping growth of four decades ; but this very steadiness, this very shunning of showmanship and brinkmanship have left a deep impress. It is no mean claim to say that the first Tamil daily is still alive and that the journalistic jottings of Bharati are read more avidly and widely now than by his contemporaries.

NOTES

1. This and a succeeding article are based upon research I carried out in 1955 on the history of Tamil political journalism. The research was necessarily incomplete but I have just put together my notes and ideas in this article to save some labour for other research workers. For the sake of crispness and brevity, the article makes only the minimum necessary reference to the contemporary political scene. For the same reason allied topics such as the poetic greatness of Bharati have been kept out of this account.

2 For the full text of the note see appendix J. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism*, Publications Divisions, Government of India, 1955.

3 Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, The first printed books in Tamil, *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VII. No. 3., pp. 288.

4 S. N. Banerjee, *A Nation in the Making*. p. 50.

5 The list is compiled from the quarterly *Report of the Registrar of books and publications*. The list was necessarily incomplete for several journals did not care to register—a practice taken note of in *The Madras Administration Report for 1875—76*. On the other hand several registered journals were published irregularly or never.

6 See footnote 5 re non-registration. *The Madras Administration Report of 1875—76*, mentioning the practice felt that it was not yet necessary to enforce the penal provisions—presumably because non-registration was attributed to ignorance rather than to organised conspiracy.

7 Italics mine. The English translation is a near-literal one of the cumbrous anglicised Tamil writing of this period.

8 Quoted in a contemporary Christian Missionary Journal *Narpotham*. Obviously *Desopakari* was not registered : see footnote 2.

9 Access to the Madras Government's extracts from local Press comments was difficult at the time of my research.

10 See footnote 2.

11. The accounts in this and the subsequent paragraph are based on the first few chapters of *The Indian Press* by Margarita Barns.

12 This journal is referred to by J. Natarajan, op. cit., and it seems to have lived on almost into 1858, when its editor's request for copies of government circulars was granted—Vide Madras Record Office, Public Department 1858, Vol. III, nos. 42 and 130.

13 *The Madras Government Administration Report for 1856—57* says in its section on Public Instruction :

> The publication of the weekly vernacular newspaper edited by the Professor of Vernacular Literature in the Presidency College of which mention was made in my last Report has been continued with considerable success. It is now published both in Tamil and Telugu and the circulation amounts to 1000 copies. The editor states that the extent to which the paper is read and its contents made known is but inadequately represented by the number of subscribers. In some instances one paper circulates through a whole village, in others it is read in the public School, and by some of the missionary subscribers it is read weekly in the open bazaar. Its articles are strictly secular, its design being as before stated, to furnish what may be regarded as news of the day, and such general information on useful subjects as may instruct the reader whatever may be his religious views. One page a week has for some time past been set apart to the publication of matters of an exclusively educational

character such as rules for the management of vernacular schools, notes of the lessons given by the Principal of the Normal School etc. Arrangements have been made by the editor for increasing the size of the paper so as to admit of more space being given to articles containing useful information on natural history, the physical sciences, etc. It is also proposed to publish a Canarese and eventually it is hoped a Malayalam version.

The Report of 1857—58 returns to the same subject in paragraph 86 and says, "The vernacular newspaper of which mention was made in the last report and which is edited by the Professor of Vernacular literature in Presidency College continues to be a useful organ of information among the native community." In 1874, the Government seriously considered reducing the subsidy from Rs. 200|- to a hundred but finally it was decided not to reduce it till September 1875. In November 1875 the Press was bought by the Government and Rev. Percival was granted a gratuity of Rs. 1,500|-. The paper was published by its new owner for several years till the turn of the century and died a slow death early in the century.

14 J. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 64.

15 Such a phase came decades later when Arumuga Navalar from Jaffna, Ceylon started his polemics with Christian missionaries both in Ceylon and Tamilnad.

16 Kurumalai Sundaram Pillai, *Life of G. Subramania Iyer* (in Tamil), now almost unobtainable except for odd copies with Iyer's family or the *Swadesamitran* library.

17 Hayavadana Rao, *Life of G. Subramania Iyer*, Madras, 1912 (obtainable at the library of *The Hindu*, Madras).

18 J. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 98.

19 *Swadesamitran* was the only regular Tamil daily during this long period but there were short-lived Tamil dailies such as *Hindu Nesan*, which became a daily about 1912 and *Intraiya Seithi* which had a brief existence during the first few months of the first World War. Hence Iyer's dominance was real and undisputed. Even strong critics of his moderation such as Subramanya Bharati who thrilled Tamil readers for a brief two years with his *India* were his close personal friends and admirers of his dedication to public service.

20 J. Natarajan, op. cit., p. 111. Regarding his emulation of Sisir Kumar Ghosh of *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*, B. G. Tilak said—

I may further tell you that when we started our paper in vernacular, we tried to follow the editor of the *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*. That was a time when one had to teach the people how to criticize the bureaucracy and, at the same time keep onself safe, bodily at least, if not pecuniarily. That was the idea fully developed by Sisir Kumar in those days of journalism.

But both Sisir Kumar and Tilak did suffer from imprisonment and demands for security for their press, while Iyer managed his paper on an even keel throughout his ownership.

21 Random samples of issues were analysed from 1887—1899 on the basis of two issues for each year up to 1898, when it was a bi-weekly and three issues for 1899. The analysis embraced (1) a general space analysis of the proportion of space alloted to different items such as advertisements, news local and foreign, letters and leading articles and (2) a closer analysis of each item, particularly the leading articles, letters and news. The space analysis table for this period is given below. The number of leading articles analysed and specific references to most of them are included in the text.

SWADESAMITRAN—SPACE ANALYSIS BY COLUMNS 1887-99

Year	Total number of columns	Advertisement	Total Editorial Space	News	Letters	Leading articles	Miscellaneous
1887	32 (each issue, 4 pages of 4 columns each)	9·0	23·0	8·0	11·5	3·5	nil
1888	32	11·25	20·75	7·25	5·5	5·25	2·75
1889	32	13·5	18·5	4·0	4·5	5·5	4·5
1890	32	13·0	19·0	8·0	5·25	5·75	nil
1891	32	16·5	15·5	6·0	4·75	4·75	nil
1892	32	14·5	17·5	8·75	2·0	6·75	nil
1893	32	16·5	15·5	6·0	3·75	5·75	nil
1894	—	Issues not available	—	—	—	—	—
1895	48 (each issue 8 pages of 3 columns each)	22·5	25·5	8·25	7·5	7·75	2
1896	48	23·25	24·75	8·25	7·75	7·75	1
1897	—	Issues not available	—	—	—	—	—
1898	—	" "	—	—	—	—	—
1899	96	61·0	35·0	18·5	3	13·5	nil
TOTAL	416	201·0	215·0	83·0	52·5	66·25	10·25
Percentage of total space	100	48·8	51·2	20·0	12·3	15·9	0·3

22 (Dina Varthamani was subsidized by the Government of Madras, see footnote 13.) In 1911, G. K. Gokhale opposed a proposal by the Government of India to grant a subsidy of Rs. 65,000 to Narendranath Sen to help him start an Indian language paper. Vide *Speeches of G. K. Gokhale*, G. A. Natesan, Madras, 3rd ed., pp. 425-29. Charges of receiving government subsidy have been levelled against practically all newspapers in Madras both English and Tamil. It is very difficult to draw definite conclusions from the hearsay evidence I have come across, though the possibility cannot be ruled out in some cases.

The internal evidence in *Swadesamitran* and the balance of my hearsay evidence together point to its comparative freedom from government and party subsidies. Donations from munificent patrons were however received without any political strings.

23 Much information regarding the daily conduct of *Swadesamitran* was derived from Mr. S Viswanathier, son of G. Subramania Iyer and M. S Subramania Iyer, a close colleague.

24 E.g. a vivid report of a dacoity on the party of a Revenue Board member from *Sujana ManoRanJani* or Tirunelveli.

25 See footnote 21 re: random sampling. Twentyone daily issues were analysed and each of them contained at least two leading articles.

26 *Jamabandhi* meant the visit of a Revenue Officer, *i.e.*, Tashildar or Deputy Collector to a village during his tours. The ostensible purpose was to inspect and promote the collection of *Kist i.e.*, land revenue and to enquire into the villagers' grievances. In fact the massing together of local officialdom was used to strike fear and respect for the bureaucracy.

27 They are not mentioned at all in Madras Government Administration Reports of periodicals having a circulation above 500.

28 The circulation figures vary considerably in their reliability since the Registrar's list of Books and Periodicals and the Government Administration Reports took the word of the publisher—whose figures accorded often with their hopes rather than with facts. But the high circulation figures of some missionary periodicals may be quite reliable since they were priced ridiculously low or even distributed free and the literate Christians were very community conscious.

Besides those mentioned in the text there were many other registered missionary periodicals and probably many more unregistered ones.

29 The Registrar's quarterly list itself contains evidence of irregular appearances—several periodicals listed in one quarter as current do not reappear for another quarter or two. This was also noted in the Madras Government Administration Report of 1887.

30 *Swadesamitran*. 12 September 1888. The leading article congratulates Neela Megha Achar formerly editor of *Kudanthai Mitran* for having resigned his editorship following disagreement with the proprietor and started his own *Tanjai Jana Mitran*.

31 *e.g.* The Journal *Narpotham* usually featured extracts from *Dina Varthamani* in its last two pages.

32 No mention at all is made of the Tamil press during these years,

33 Indeed, the Government's volumes of extracts from the press are the only record we have of many journals whose files have since been destroyed. The British bureaucrats were fully in touch with press opinion for what it was worth. Again as a non-responsible ruling bureaucracy, they relied heavily on these for their insights into middle class opinion—witness Robinson's views—footnote 2.

34 *Swadesamitran* 13 August 1895 and 13 September 1895. A leading article in the former issue was critical of the Sethupathi of Ramanathapuram for arranging to hand over one of his schools to Christian missionaries. A letter in the latter issue from the State Vidwan Raghaviengar tells the editor that the Sethupathi has reversed this decision.

35 S. N. Banerjee, *A Nation in the Making* p. 50.

36 K. Sundaram Pillai, *Biography of G. Subramania Iyer.*

37 The space analysis of this period is given below. In the 1878—99 period, the percentage of space occupied by news and leading articles respectively were 20 and 15.9, see footnote 21. In the 1899—1908 period it had changed to 23.5 and 8 respectively.

38 Iyer was keenly interested in India's economic development and the economic consequences of British rule—witness his special journey to London to give evidence before the Welby Commission on the Indian economy and his personal interest in floating many new Indian ventures.

39 Subramania Iyer was arrested in Kutralam and brought to Madras in a III Class Railway Carriage and charged with making seditious speeches in Tirunelveli and publishing seditious articles in *Swadesamitran*, ten articles being named. Bail was requested on the basis of ill health but was refused. The articles concerned are quite tame by standards of latter days and some of them are said to have been the work of his biographer K. Sundaram Pillai. The defence was that some of the articles were translations from English passages and secondly that the translation into English of some of the articles charged with sedition was not correct. The case however was not proceeded with. It would appear that with the influence of some famous lawyers, Iyer was released on giving an undertaking not to violate the law in his writings. Mystery surrounds the circumstances of Iyer's release and his detractors have called it an abject surrender. Looking at it from our times, one is grateful that he was released and was fit to continue his work of political education for another eight years, during which time Tamilnad might probably have gone without a daily at all if he had been incarcerated. For full details, see, *Swadesamitran* issues 22 August 1908 onwards.

40 The following account of Bharati's *India* is based on articles in P. Thooran's *Bharati Thamizh* and (probably) the only collection of the issues of *India* in the possession of Mr. R. A. Padmanabhan of Madras.

41 A circulation of five thousand has been mentioned by S. Ramanujulu Naidu in P. Thooran, *op. cit.* The effective readership of such a legendary journal could have been easily ten times the (financial circulation).

42 The space analysis for this period is given in the following table.

SWADESAMITRAN SPACE ANALYSIS FROM 1900-1908

The column spaces for each year represent the total number of columns for 6 days of the week taken at random with the help of random number tables. There was no Sunday edition till the Second World War. Generally the issues of all days of the week during this period were of equal size, four pages in most years with 6 columns to the page except in 1902 and 1906 when the issues had 6 pages.

Year	Total space in columns	Advertisement	Total Editorial matter	News Indian	News Foreign	Letters to the Editor	Leading Articles	Miscellaneous items
1900	144	79	65	35	7½	8½	10	4
1902	216	138	78	48	8	3	12	7
1904	144	79	65	23	5	12	16	9
1905	144	79	65	29½	3½	11	16	5
1906	210	148	62	35½	3	12	13½	8
1907	144	79	65	33	3	8½	15	5½
1908	144	76	68	32½	2	16	12	5½
The average % distribution for this period is approximately:								
	100	60	40	21·0	2·5	6·0	8·0	2·5

43 Fortyfive leading articles were analysed for the years 1909—13 but they are not discussed in detail since their pattern was similar to the earlier period. Of these thirteen dealt with some aspect of Indian economy, thus constituting the largest number of articles on a single subject. Eight articles dealt with foreign affairs of which four discussed Indians in South Africa. The other articles were on India-wide or local themes.

44 According to the Madras Administration Reports, the number of Journals in Tamil which was 89 in 1909, dropped to 74 in 1911 and further down to 58 in early 1914. It spurted up to 117 later that year on to 212 in 1915 and dropped down again.

45 Iyer's 'contempt' for the Tamil middle class has to be inferred from his haranguing style and his very concept of public education. Bharati's was open for all to see. We need only refer to his song *Nenchu Porukkuthillaye. Intha nilai ketta manitharai ninainthu vittal.*

46 Notwithstanding Bharati's fervent revivalism there was an unmistakable note of ethical and practical moderation particularly in Bharati's prose. Contrast his fiery poem on the Russian revolution along with his merciless criticism of Lenin's arguments for unscrupulous violence in *Swadesamitran* and contrast with his passionate defence of press freedom in 1910 a later article on the need for gradual development (*The Hindu Weekly Review*, 10 Dec., 1962).

47 Iyer was the victim of a crippling tradition; the Tamil prose of the Pulavar was, if unintelligible at least genuinely Tamil; but it began to be replaced by the spoken language of the new middle class; this language was soon laden with English words displacing intelligible Tamil words in currency and furthermore its natural syntax too was twisted to imitate the Victorian English sentence. It was not long before Tamil scholars such as Siva and Chidambaranar poured out ridicule on *Swadesamitran* Tamil.

In contrast to this development, Ananda rangam Pillai's diary, (18th century) displays a most modern, natural and perfected style—and owes probably something to French influence. It is interesting to speculate how many wasted decades might have been avoided if his style had been emulated.

SWADESAMITRAN SPACE ANALYSIS 1909–1916

The column spaces for each year represent the total number of columns for 6 days of the week

Year	Total	Advertisement	Total Editorial matter	News South Indian	News All Indian	News Foreign	Letters to the Editor	Leading Articles	Miscellaneous
1909	200	123½	76½	21	12	4	20½	16	3
1910	128	69	59	8	28½	3½	3½	9	6½
1911	112	68	44	7½	10	6½	9	11	—
1912	200	121	79	2	32½	11½	14½	13	5½
1913	160	87	73	4	33½	8	12	9	6½
1914	128	61	67	—	21½	36½	—	9	—
1915	136	60	76	18½	15	24½	5	8	5
1916	394	248½	145½	17½	37½	33½	20½	14	22½
The average % distribution from 1909 to 1913 is (approx)									
	100	58·5	41·5	5·3	14·5	4·2	7·4	7·3	2·8
The average % distribution for 1914, 1915 and 1916 is (approx)									
	100	56·00	44·00	5·5	11·0	14·0	4·0	5·5	4·0

The Tamil Book of Proverbs:

H. S. DAVID

In my first article on the Book of Proverbs, I have dealt with its peculiar diction and started on the second section: *the internal evidence of certain of its stanzas, the persons mentioned.* Kindly look up pages 176 to 178: therein we have met the following personages :—

1. Pāri and Pēkaṉ, pages 176 to 177 of Vol. IX, 2 of "Tamil Culture".

2. The Cōḻa king, Karikālaṉ, 177 to 178. Now we shall have introduced to us rapidly a few more interesting historical or legendary personages, starting with 3. *The Pāṇṭiyan king* mentioned at Pal. 76 :—

எனக்குத் தகவன்றால் என்பதே நோக்கித்
தனக்குக் கரியாவான் தானாய்த் தவற்றை
நினைத்துத்தன் கைகுறைத்தான் தென்னவனும் ....

Readers of the seventh century work, Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ,[1] reputed to have been edited by

This article is a continuation of the one that appeared, with the same title, in April-June, 1961, in "Tamil Culture", Vol. IX 2, pages 151 to 180. I would ask its readers in this connexion to turn to page 172 afore-mentioned, and at the beginning of the penultimate line change 64 into 94b "moliyarka". This arose as my typist's error. As soon as I detected it, I wrote to the Editor: but meanwhile the article was being printed or had just been. These two articles (and future ones) form a series with "the Earliest Tamil Poems Extant", Vol. IV, No. 1, pages 90 to 98 and "the Kuruntokai Anthology", Vol. VII, No. 4, pages 323 to 349. In this series I am endeavouring to study critically a few, if not all, of the 36 ancient classics, both major and minor, in Tamil மேற் கணக்கு and கீழ்க் கணக்கு, 18 in each group. The book we are investigating belongs to the latter.

[1] Iṟaiyaṉār akapporuḷ, Madras, 1916, edited by Rāo Bahadūr S. Bhavānantampiḷḷai, F.R.H.S., M.R.A.S. (London), the 1st. Sūtra, page 7 :—

Kaṇakkāyaṉār's son, named Nakkīraṉār, would have made themselves familiar with another "Kīraṉ", or "Kīrantai", said to be a poet of the Middle "Caṅkam". Cf. Madras Lexicon, page 946. The king of Madurai, *or* Kūṭal, as it was then called,[2] seems to have been involved in some shady transaction either with the poet's contemporaries *or* with the poet's wife, which would have been a worse offence.

This is what the commentary states: தவறுவது கதவையிடித்த குற்றம். அஃதாவது, கீரந்தையின் ஐயம் நீங்கு தற்பொருட்டு ஒவ்வொரு வீடுகளின் கதவினையுமிடித்தமை, இது வன்றிக்கீரந்தை மனைவியைத்தனியிடத்தே பிடித்த குற்றத்தை நினைத்துத்தன் கைக்குறைத்தான் என்று பழைய பொழிப்புரை கூறும். அதற்குச் சான்றொன்றுமில்லை.

So states the commentary on Paḻ. 76, edited by M. Rāsamāṇikkampiḷḷai, 1948. This Pāṇṭiyaṉ therefore, is fit to be compared with a still more famous Pāṇṭian, prominent in Cilap. 20, where this dialogue occurs between the enraged Kaṇṇaki and the king of Madurai.

The king: "It is not injustice to put a thief to death."

The lady: "You have fallen from your righteousness, My golden anklet contains gems inside."
" என் காற்பொற்சிலம்பு மணியுடை அரியே."

The king: "Our anklet contains pearls inside. Give your one here."

இனி இடைச்சங்கமிருந்தார்...கீரந்தையும் என இத்தொடக் கத்தார் ஐம்பதின்மர்.

[2] Tradition gives us his name as Kulasēkheraṉ, which would mean "the one at the summit of the domestic virtues". Was it an appropriate name on this occasion? Some writers claim that he was king of Koṟkai not of Kūṭal.

The story continues :—It was given and placed before him. Kaṉṉaki then broke open her beautiful anklet, and a gem flew into the king's face. With his umbrella falling and *his sceptre faltering,* the king said: "Am I a ruler—I who have listened to the words of a gold smith ? It is I who am the thief. The protection of the subjects of *the southern kingdom* has failed in my hands for the first time. Let me depart from this life." Speaking thus the king fell down in a swoon. His sense of *justice, ceṅkōṉmai,* led to his manifest repentance, extreme remorse and final collapse. The accents audible in Paḷ. 76 are heard more resonantly still in these lines of Cilap. 20, which depict this central theme: they are very tragic indeed.

கண்ணகி அணிமணிக் காற்சிலம்பு உடைப்ப,
மன்னவன் வாய்முதல் தெறித்தது மணியே. மணிகண்டு,
தாழ்ந்த குடையன் தளர்ந்தசெங் கோலன்
"பொன்செய் கொல்லன் தன்சொற் கேட்ட
யானோ அரசன்? யானே கள்வன்!
மன்பதை காக்குந் தென்புலங் காவல்
என்முதற் பிழைத்தது கெடுக என் ஆயுள்" என
மன்னவன மயங்கி விழ்ந்தனனே. Lines 71-78

The pathos inherent in these lines is soul-stirring.

This sense of royal justice, *after impartial and diligent enquiry,* has been traditional in the Tamil county. It is stressed in the Kuṟaḷ in several strophes and verses, as at 390 :—

கொடையளி செங்கோல் குடியோம்பல் நான்கும்
உடையானும் வேந்தர்க்கு ஒளி.

The literal commentary on this text runs as follows :—

வேண்டுவோர்க்கு வேண்டுவன கோடுத்தலும், யாவர்க்குந் தலையளி செய்தலும், **முறை செய்தலும்,** தளர்ந்த குடிகளைப் பேணலு

மாகிய இந்நான்கு செயலையுமுடையவன் மாத்திரமே வேந்தர்க் கெல்லாம் விளக்குப்போல்வான்.

The specialized commentary on "cenkōl" states:—

செவ்விய கோல் போறலின், செங்கோல் எனப்பட்டது.

On "Oḷi" the com. says:—சாதி முழுதும் விளக்க லின், விளக்கு என்றார். ஒளி ஆகுபெயர்.[3] Likewise, in Nītineṟiviḷakkam:—

32 b—d குற்றம் அறிவரிதென்று அஞ்சுவதே செங்கோன்மை.
33 a—b ஏதிலார் யாதும் புகல இறைமகன்
கோடுதோரீஇக் கொள்கை முதுக்குறைவு.

Unlike the Cōḷa king, Karikālaṉ, these two *kings of the South* had both failed in this quality, but only momentarily: when they sensed their guilt, they instantly and willingly paid the penalty in a grand, striking and sensational manner, as befitted the Tamil kings of Koṟkai and Madurai. The King of the South, who is alluded to at Paḷ. 76, cut off his hand in retributive justice: while the other Pāṇṭiyaṉ, who is mentioned at Cilap. 20, forfeited his life in the same holy cause. These Tamil kings, accordingly, appear to have been endowed with the identical Spartan virtues as the Romans (of the time of Christ) whose adage was: "Fiat justitia, ruat coelum = Let justice be done, even if the heavens were to fall down."

[3] What Kuṟal predicates of the truly great, the "cānrōr" whom I shall discuss in No. 8 below, applies still more so to the kings who were rulers, military leaders and *judges*, all three in one:—

"To incline to neither side, but to rest impartial as the even fixed scale is the ornament of *the wise.*" Compare this with what is said of kings:—

"He is the light of kings who possesses these four qualities: beneficence, benevolence, *rectitude* and care for his people." (Kur. 390).

This tradition of scrupulous royal justice was in fact carried over to the Tamil colonies abroad, as, for instance, over Palk's Straits to Īḻam or Ceylon. The Sinhalese king the Buddhist Asela, was overthrown by *a Tamil nobleman* in 145 B.C. The latter seized the capital of Rāja Raṭa, the predominant kingdom. For 44 years from Anuradhapura he ruled over all that land with unparalleled equity, according to the testimony of the Sinhale Buddhist monk, or rather bhikkhu, Mahānāma, in the Mahāvaṃsa, a panegyric on the Sinhalese kings. The *Tamil nobleman* took the fitting name of "Ellāḷaṉ" = Luminous or splendid Ruler. The Mahāvaṃsa gives us several instances of his refined sense of justice. In one instance this appears to have been naive or exaggerated. He is supposed to have condemned his beloved son's neck to be crushed under the same chariot-wheel that had crushed a calf's neck, on the mute complaint of the mother-cow, which pulled the string tied to the "Bell of Investigation" in the Court of Ellāḷaṉ. This Tamil king's justice must have been proverbial for this story to have arisen among the Sinhalese. It is also significant that the Sinhalese panegyrist is unable to find such a paragon of justice among the hundreds of Sinhalese kings that he describes or mentions and that the first Sinhalese king, Vijaya, in his treachery to Kuveni, and the restorer of Sinhalese power, *Duṣṭha* Gamāni or *Duṭu* Gemunu (= *the wicked*) are far from just on his own showing: Anyway, there does not appear among Sinhalese kings that all-consuming passion for justice that characterised Eḷḷālaṉ and these two Pāṇṭiyaṉs.

4. Under No. 1 above, I have dealt with *Pāri.* Here I shall treat about *his daughter*, who is mentioned at Paḻ. 381:—

மாரியொன்று இன்றி வறந்திருந்த காலத்தும்
பாரி மடமகள் பாண்மகற்கு — நீர் உலையுள்
பொன் தந்து கொண்டு புகாவாக நல்கினள்.........

The most significant part of this stanza is thus elucidated in the commentary: சோறு இன்மையால், போன்னையே சமைத்து உணவாகக் கோடுத்தாள். Owing to the terrible drought that afflicted that country, similar to that which dried up and impoverished Palestine for three years and six months in the time of the prophet Elijah (about 800 B.C. Cf. I Kings 17:1; 18:45; Luke 4:25), Pāri's daughter was unable to offer rice and curry to a lute-player who had entertained her party. She was, however, the daughter of one of the seven paragons of generosity. Kapilar, who panegyrised him at Puṟa. 105 to 120, i.e. in 16 poems out of the 400 in this anthology, has a beautiful stanza, comparing Pāri with the bounteous rain, Māri, at Puṟa. 107:—

பாரி பாரி என்று பல ஏத்தி
ஒருவற் புகழ்வர் செந்நாப் புலவர்
பாரி ஒருவனும் அல்லன் ;
மாரியும் உண்டீண்டு உலகுபுரப் பதுவே.

"Why is it", Kapilar asks in feigned indignation, "that poets are extolling incessantly Pāri and his generosity that is as broad as the wide earth (= pār, பார்)? There is not merely one Pāri, for there is Māri (= the welcome shower that refreshes the parched earth) too". This is exquisite poetry.

Being a daughter of *Pāri, the bounteous*, and most probably one of his daughters that are

mentioned at Pur̲a N. 112 (அற்றைத் திங்கள்), 113 (மட்டுவாய் திறப்பவும்), 114 (ஈண்டு நின்றோர்கும்), she cannot but imitate her illustrious father. She offers gold, probably mined from the hill of Par̲ampu, her princely father's capital city, or from the three hundred villages and hamlets that formed his principality. Cf. Pur̲a N. 110 : 3 முந்நூறு ஊர்த்தே தண்பறப்பு நன்னாடு. But with a "Midas touch", which here, however, works in the reverse direction or process, she boils the gold down into what appears to be *wholesome food* for her guest. This is the significance of the word "*pukā*" employed *here* and at Kr̲t. 253 : 6, புலி புகா உறுத்த புலவு நாறு கல்லளை.

5. Not only the kings of South India and its chieftains with their progeny but also *a king* of Ceylon or *Laṅkāpura* figure in the Paḻ. This king is the celebrated *Rāvaṇa,* who is both Priam and Paris of Troy (or Ilium) to Sītā the rival of Helen but in chastity and conjugal fidelity Helen's outstanding superior. Rāvaṇa is mentioned in our work at least twice, namely at 291b and 257b.

First, 291b :—போற்றுது கொண்டு அரக்கன் போரில் அகப்பட்டான். The commentary states : இராவணன் ஆராய்தலின்றி இராமனோடு பகைகொண்டு போரிடைப்பட்டு இறந்து ஒழிந்தான். Like Paris of Troy, who, by his carrying away of Helen, the Grecian paragon of beauty, brought upon himself, upon his kith and kin and upon the entire city of Ilium, the wrath of the Greek warrior kings and princes, Agamemnon, Menelaus and Achilles and ultimate destruction at their hands, so Ravana by his precipitate, rash and inconsiderate (pōr̲r̲ātu, போற்றுது) carrying away of Sītā (koṇṭu, கொண்டு)

brought upon his own head the just fury of her outraged husband, Rāma, a terrible war (pōr, போர்) ensued, and Rāvaṇa came to grief (akappaṭṭāṉ, அகப்பட்டான்). It is significant that the Paḻ. text employs the earlier Tam. derivative *arrakkaṉ*, from the Rigvedic rakṣás (RV. 36 : 15 pāhí nas agne rakṣásas = 0 Agni (the god of fire), protect us from the demon. The same words are repeated at RV. 517 : 13. Very similar ideas and words are found at RV. 669 : 10; 783 : 1. The word " rakṣás " *in this sense* occurs likewise at RV. 129 : 11; 249 : 1; 462 : 7; 517 : 19; 620 : 16; 803 : 4; 816 : 6; 913 : 25; 1008 : 3, *in all* 13 times in the Rigveda, the oldest of the Sanskrit sacred scriptures. It is from this ancient form that Paḻ. has derived or borrowed the Tam. arrakaṉ. Incidentally the Madras Lexicon. p. 115, is unaware of this word being present in any Tamil poem or Tamil literature as a whole and cites a lexicon (Piṅk. பிங்.) as its source for it. The later word is "irākkataṉ," M.L. p. 316, in Tam. In Sanskrit too, the equivalent unaccented "*rākṣasa*" is late. It is not found even once in RV. It appears, probably for the first time, in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, then in the Kauṣitaki Upaniṣad, at Manu 3 : 33, at Rāmāyaṇa, v. 10 : 17 and very frequently in the course of that epic. That our Tamil book of proverbs employs the earlier word is therefore worthy of notice.

Let us make a close study of the word " arrakkan " which is the most prominent word in Paḻ. 291b. Evidently it is a "*tajja*" or "*tadbhava*" according to Monier Williams, this means "*sprung* or born or arising *from that*": i.e. *Sanskrit*, as Prakritic or other words. Ac-

cording to the celebrated German Lexicographers, Bohtlingk, Roth and Grassmann, the verbal root "*rakṣ*" has two distinct and contrary connotations. The first "rakṣ" means to guard, watch over, protect: in German, "jemand beschueteen, behueten.. The second: to hurt, injure, damage, violate, "beschaedigen, verletzen". It is this latter word that becomes "arakkaṉ" in Tamil.

It is well known that Rāvaṇa tried to contract with Sītā a "rākṣasa" marriage. This is the seventh out of the eight forms of marriage described by the Mānava Dharma Śāstra, at 3:20 to 34. Stanza 33 therein states, "The seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance. . . . . . is the marriage styled rākṣasa". In the original Sanskrit it runs thus:—

"hatvā chittvāca bhittvāca krośantīm
rudatīm gṛhāt
prahasya kanyā - haraṇam *rākṣaso*
vidhir - ucyate"

We note with pleasure that *the author of Paḷ.* who might have employed "Rāvaṇa" (as the Com. does) or any other word, to describe him, employs instead the most *significant word* he could have thought of and the most *appropriate* in this context, the trenchant one: *arakkaṉ*. *The author* evidently knew the force of words remarkably well.

The second instance of Rāvaṇa being referred to in our work is at 257b, where he is called "Ilaṇkaikkiḷavaṉ", the king of Ceylon. The second of these words is very ancient, as employed in its original sense of "owner", "possessor",

"proprietor", "lord". Cf. "kiḻār" as the final name of certain poets of the classical age, e.g. Māṭalūr Kiḻār (கிழார்), the author of Kṟt. 150; Kōvūr Kiḻār, who composed Kṟt. 65; Kūṭalūr Kiḻār, responsible for Kṟt. 166, 167, 214; Kiḷḷi Maṅkalaṉ Kiḻār (Krt. 76, 110, 152, 181); Karavūr Kiḻār (Kṟt. 170); Kayattūr Kiḻār (Kṟt. 354); Ukaikkuṭi Kiḻār (Kṟt. 63) etc. The word "kiḻavaṉ" occurs in this sense at Kṟt. 34 : 7; 385 : 5; Tol. Por. 113 : 4, காமக் கிழவன் உள்வழிப் படினும்.

Its variant "kiḻavōṉ", at Kṟt. 332 : 6; Naṟṟ. 173:7.

The plural form "kiḻavar"=lords, at Puṟa N. 35 : 3.

Its variant "kiḻavōr"—owner (honorific plural in Tamil), at Kṟt. 392 : 8.

The feminine form "kiḻavi=lady, mistress, occurs at Tol. Por. 113:5.

According to *the* i.e., *alternance,* "kiḻa" is closely linked to "keḻu" and "kēḷ."

6. Paḷ. 257 mentions not only Rāvaṇa but also his younger brother *Vibhīṣaṇa,* in Tamil Vipīṭaṇaṉ. The two brothers are said to have propitiated Brahmā by their penances. Hence it is only in a very broad and loose sense that Rākṣasas can be termed "demons": they are rather "hurters", "violators", "foes", as I have already explained (in No. 5 above). As their recompense, Brahmā granted them both boons. Vibhīṣaṇa chose as his boon that he should never, even in the greatest calamity, stoop to any mean action. Hence in the Sanskritic Epic literature, in the Mahābhārata, in the Harivaṃsa and especially in the Rāmāyaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa is represented as constantly endeavouring to counter act

the malice of his brother, Rāvaṇa; as a consequence of this, Rāvaṇa ill-treated him to such an extent that, leaving Laṅkā, he joined Rāma. After the defeat and downfall of Rāvaṇa, Rāma placed Vibhīṣaṇa on the vacant throne of Laṅka. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, V, 91. This story is very concisely related in Paḻ. 257a–c :—

பொலந்தார் இராமன் துணையாகத் தான் போந்து
இலங்கைக் கிழவற்கு இளையான் — இலங்கைக்கே
போந்து இறை ஆயதூஉம் பெற்றான்.

Rāma is presented here as wearing a garland of golden flowers. This is the common representation of this hero. Thus also does Pukaḻēntiyār describe him in his Naḷa Veṇpā, Kali toṭar kāṇṭam :—

" தேன்பிடிக்குந் தண்துழாய்ச் செங்கட் கருமுகிலை "

Vibhīṣaṇa hastened to the assistance of Rāma from Laṅkā : as a reward, he returned to Lanka as its king. Note here the choice of words : in line b " kiḻavaṉ " and in line c " iṟai " both signify "*proprietorship and lordship together*", but in the former word. " ownership " is more prominent, as befitting Rāvaṇa, who is supposed to be the hereditary king of Laṅkā : in the latter word " iṟai ", " lordship " predominates, as this term is applicable to God, king and husband alike. Cf. Ariccantirappurāṇam, Mayāṉa kāṇṭam 21d :—

" இனியாரைநம்பி, உயிர்வாழ்வம் என்தன் இறையோனும்
யானும் அவமே ? "

From the above legendary narrative, the author of the Paḻ. work draws a moral or lesson, which rounds off this stanza, at 257c-d ....
பெரியாரைச் சார்ந்து கெழீஇயிலார் இல்.

"Adhere to the great: *inevitably* you will earn your reward." Note the two *alternating* stems, "kiḻa"-and "keḻu" (the source of keḻīiyilār) in lines b and d of this stanza. Occurring so close to each other, these two words tend to confirm what I have stated already, in the last sentence of No. 5 above, and to rivet the linguistically—minded readers' attention to the i.e., *alternance* both in Tamil and in the Dravidian tongues as a whole.

Let us study closely the second word "keḻu", just as we have done with the alternant "kiḻa" earlier, under No. 5. The Madras Lexicon, which I shall henceforth call M.L., gives to this word, on page 1090, three meanings: colour, brightness, and euphonic increment. Although it cites Tol. Col. 303 and Tol. Eḻutt. 481 for two of these three meanings, they are neither basic nor the original ones. In the related word "keḻumu", however; which M.L. lists soon afterwards, in its second or *transitive* verbal signification, occurs the very first sense: to attain, join, unite, பொருந் துதல், as at Paṭṭiṉappālai 47:—தேரோட்டத்துகள்கெழுமி — தூளியாய்ப் பொருந்தி. Further down in the same column of this identical page in M.L. occurs "keḻuvu", another relative of "keḻu", M.L. gives it the sense of "friendship", நட்பு, as at Paripā. 8:63 கேளிர் மணலின் கெழுவதும் இதுவோ? Here we are nearer the basic meaning of "keḻu", which is "to be mixed with", "adjoining to", "having the quality of", *in its intransitive sense*, and "to reach, come also to, unite", *in the transitive*. Cf. Kṟt. 71:4 kal keḻu kāṉavar; 145:1 tuṟai keḻu ciṟu kuṭi, 170:4 malai keḻu nāṭaṉ; 241:2; 255:3 264:1; 374:3; Naṟṟ. 35:7; 395:9; Aka Nā. 17:1;

25:19; 98:1 and 29; 162:13, 19 and 21; 338:2; Puṟa Nā. 24:17 keḻīiya; 69:15; 76:9; 266:1; Patiṟṟ. 15:38; Tol. Por. 115:8 and 196:6 have the viṉai eccam of this verb as "keḻīi"=porunti in the Com. The corresponding peyar eccam "keḻīiya" (= poruntiya in the Com.) occurs at Kṟt. 2:3; 264:1; Puṟa Nā. 24:17; Cīv. 754a, b. Further, Tol. Por. 119 has "pāl keḻu kiḻavi", Tol. Por. 220:1 "keḻu takai potuccol".

We have accordingly shown that both the verb "keḻu" and the "viṉai eccam" formation in -īi(keḻ-īi) are ancient. We note that Paḻ. 257 has precisely this verb in its oldest sense; for the Com. explains கெழீஇலார் in the text as பயன் அடையாதார் = those who have not *attained* to a reward. Time does not allow me to give the reader a wealth of instances to prove that the "viṉai eccam" ending in "īi" is one of oldest in the Tamil classics. Accordingly the fourth line of Paḻ. 257 strikes us as very ancient. This is the proverb proper and the core of the relevant stanza.

7. Just as Paḻ. 257 alludes to the Rāmāyaṇa war, so Paḻ. 356 mentions certain *anecdotes of the Mahābhārata war.* To wit,

பாரதத்து உள்ளும் பணையம்தம் தாயமா
ஈரைம் பதின்மரும் போரெதிர்ந்து ஐவரொடு
ஏதிலர் ஆகி இடைவிண்டார் ....

According to the commentary, the first word here does not denote the Bhārata country, i.e. Aryavarta or North India, but the Mahābhārata epic: பாரத நூல் உள்ளும். If we could be sure that this was a *Tamil* epic, based, of course, on the Sanskrit original, just as this too seems

to have been based on a still earlier proto-Dravidian original, going back almost to the imperial age of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, like the Epic of Gilgamesh in Sumerian, then these words "pāratattuḷḷum, பாரதத்துள்ளும்" would help us to date this stanza of Paḷ., if not the whole work. We would be still nearer the mark, if we had quite definite information as to the exact edition of the Tamil epic which the author of Paḷ. is referring to here. Most of the commentators think that this was "Peruntēvaṉār's" translation. In fact, this poet is invariably referred to, with this sobriquet or nickname, as பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார், the one who sang Pāratam. But the century in which this poet lived is not fixed. M.L., on page 2876, gives us the names of three literary men who bore the name. "Peruntevanar": it ascribes the last to the 11th century, and the middle one to the ninth, but gives no date to the first, the one whom we are concerned about. A diligent study, however, of such extracts from his epic as have escaped the ravages of time and of white ants, e.g. the stanzas cited by Nacc. in his commentary on Tol. Por. 72, pages 222 to 230, and elsewhere, would help us to fix the date of this epic poet, whom M.L. calls "a Caṅkam poet", பாரதம் பாடிய சங்கப் புலவர். If this were the "pāratam" that *Paḷ. 356a* refers to, as is most likely, then the *latter* would be a later work. The story of the struggle of the hundred sons (ஈர் ஐம்பதின்மர் = 2 × 50) of Dhṛtarāshtra, headed by Duryōdhana, against their 5 cousin-brothers, the Pañca Pāṇḍavas, ஐவர் = the five, starting with the gambling contest at Hastināpura, which is concisely alluded to

here: paṇaiyamtamtāyamā, பணையந்தந்தாயமா, that story, I repeat, is well-known. The gambling it was that led to the war: போர் எதிர்ந்து.....எதிலர் ஆகி, and to the untimely death of the 100 Kauravas: இடைவிண்டார், iṭaiviṇṭār. Hence the moral: "avoid gambling"....ஆதலால் காதலோடு ஆடார் கவறு (subject: cāṉṟōr), Pal. 356d.

8. A prominent person in the Mahābhārata war on the Pāṇḍava side was Lord Kṛṣṇa. He was thus named very probably from the dark blue colour of his shining skin. To the European or American reader I am obliged to introduce him briefly. Vasudeva had eight sons by his second wife, Devakī. Her cousin, Kaṃsa, King of Mathurā in Āryavarta (modern Hindhustan), was informed by the Gods through a prediction that one of these sons would kill him. Accordingly King Kaṃsa kept Vasudeva and his wife in confinement and slew their first six children. The seventh, Bālarāma, was palmed off as the son, not of Devakī, but of Rōhinī, Vasudeva's first wife, from whose children Kaṃsa had apparently nothing to fear. Soon after the birth of the youngest, Kṛṣṇa, with a peculiar and auspicious mark on his breast, his father managed escape from prison with this child. He found a heardsman named *Nanda,* whose wife, Yaśōdā, had just been delivered of a son. The two infants changed places, so that the suspicion and ire of Kaṃsa, similar to that of King Herod the Great in Palestine, (Cf. Matthew, ch. 2), was not aroused. Nanda and Yaśōdā took the infant Kṛṣṇa and settled first in Gōkula and afterwords in "*Vṛndāvana*", a name recently applied to the beautifully illuminated gardens at the Kan-

nambāḍi dam near Mysore in S. India. This was Rādhā's or "*vṛndā's forest*" a wood near the town of Gōkula, in the district of Mathurā on the left bank of the *Yamunā* (or Jumnā), a tributary of the biggest and longest river in India, the Ganges or Gaṅgā. Incidentally the etymology, so long given by Sanskrit Dictionaries, e.g. Monier Williams (which will henceforth be M.W.), page 341, is "gam" = to go: the "Gaṅgā" is supposed to be a "swift-goer." But there is no special speed to be noted in the "Gaṅgā" as distinct from other rivers, like the Indus. This word seems to be rather derived from the Dravidian "kaṅku" = the steep bank (of a river). It is accordingly a loan word into Sanskrit from the Dravidians who lived there earlier: but about this I shall deal later, in other articles.

Kṛṣṇa and Bālarāma grew up together, roaming these woods and joining in the sports of the herdsmen's sons. As a youth, Kṛṣṇa contested the soverignty of Indra and *was victorious over that god*: he became thus the protector of cattle par excellence, "gōpa" or "gōpālaḥ". Cattle, however, were not his main interest, for Kṛṣṇa sported constantly with the "gōpīs" or shepherdesses. A thousand of these became his wives, *Rādhā* being the favourite.

One we have grasped this background knowledge, we are in a good position to understand the interesting anecdotes that the Paḻ. gives us, in several places, about this Vaishnavite god. Let us start with Paḻ. 334b-c:—. . . . .
தோழுநையுள் மாலையும் மாலை மயக்குறுத்தாள்.

(*a*) Toḻunai is one of the few peculiar words that have n (ந), rather than ṉ (ன), in

this position. Similar words are porunaṉ, Aka N. 76:9; Puṟa N. 42:18; 58:9; 78:6; aṭunai, Puṟa N. 36:1; porunai,[4] Puṟa N. 11:5; 36:5; viṭ-unai, Puṟa N. 36:1, etc. The particle "un" in the middle syllable is connected with "untu", in such words as pāyuntu, Puṟa N. 24:3; tūṅkuntu, ibidem. 24:6; tarūuntu, 24:9; olikkuntu, 137:6; pūkkuntu, 137:8; paṟikkuntu, 352:4; uṟaikkuntu, 384:6; vaikuntu, 384:9; peyarkkuntu, 395:11; tūṅkuntu, 400:14. Modern Malayalam has nasalized the plosive that follows the nasal, just as English (or rather, old High German) "timber" has become modern German "zimmer". Hence the Mal. verbal ending in "unnu". The Tel. particle "un" is also connected herewith and goes back to "proto-Dravidian". Hence I should think that "toḻunai" is an exceedingly ancient word, connected with "toṭu"="to touch, join with": accordingly it came to signify "the tributary", par excellence, of the Ganges, viz. the Yamunā. The Com. on Paḻ. 334b has "yamuṉaiyiṉkaṇē, யமுனையின்கண்ணே". There is an exquisitely delightful description both of the Yamunā and Kṛṣṇa's amorous sports there, in Aka N. 59:3-6 . . . . நீயே வடாஅது

வண்புனல் தொழுநை வார்மணல் அகன்துறை
அண்டர் மகளிர் தண்தழை உடீஇயர்
மரஞ்செல மிதித்த மாஅல்

The Com. narrates the incident succinctly: வடக்கின் கண்ணதாய நீர்வளமறாத யமுனையாற்றின் நெடிய மணலையுடைய அகன்ற துறையில் நீராடிய ஆயர்மகளிர் தண்ணிய தழையை உடுத்திக்கொள்ள, குருந்த மரம் வளைந்திட மிதித்துத் தந்த கண்ணன் . . . . . . ஏனெனில் அவர்கள் நீராடுங்கால்

[4] Kindly look up *Supplementary Note 2* at the close of this article".

கரையில் இட்டுவைத்த ஆடைகளைக் கண்ணபிரான் விளையாட்டாக எடுத்துக்கொண்டு குருந்த மரத்தேறியிருந்தார். அப்பொழுது பல தேவர் (*sic*, probably for Bālarāma) அங்கு வர, அம்மகளிர் ஒருசேர மறைதற்கு வேறு வழியின்மையால், தாம் ஏறியிருந்த குருந்த மரக்கொம்பினைத் தாழ்த்துக் கொடுத்தார்.

"நீல்நிற வண்ணன் அன்று நெடுந்துகில் கவர்ந்து தம்முன்
பால்நிற வண்ணன் நோக்கிற் பழியுடைத்து என்று, கண்டாய்,
வேல்நிறத் தானை வேந்தே, விரிபுனற் றொழுனை யாற்றுட்
கோல்நிற வளையி னார்க்குக் குருந்துஅவன் ஒசித்து என்றான்."

Cīvakacintāmaṇi, 209.

(*b*) Now we take up the beautiful line: "mālaiyum mālai mayak kuṟuttāḷ". Note that every "cīr" has "m" as the initial letter and that there is a delightful pun on "mālai". The first "mālai" is the accusative singular of "māl". M.L. p. 3174-5 gives us seven forms of "māl", each with its own group of meanings. The first two go together, being the verbal and nominal forms of the same root or base. The fundamental meaning here is "to be confused, perturbed" as at Aka N. 3:5 மான்று வேட்டு எழுந்த செஞ்செவி எருவை. The Com. has "mayaṅki" . . . . "being perplexed". As a noun, "Mal" denotes the mental confusion caused by sexual desire or lust, as at Paripā. 10:42 மடப்பிடி கண்டு வயக்கரி மால் உற்று. The Com. has பிடியைக் கண்டு காமத்தால் மயக்கம் உற்று. This one meaning is better than the three separate ones that M.L. gives to māl,[2] p. 3175. The fourth meaning that M.L. gives to māl[2] comes out clearly in the old text of Perumpāṇ. 487:—நூலோர் புகழ்ந்த மாட்சிய மால் கடல். The Com. for the last "cīr" is "*karuṅka*ṭal" = the *dark or black* sea. When we remember that Kṛṣṇa was a hero of Aryavarta or North India, that "kṛṣṇa" in Sanskrit means precisely

this: "*dark, blue-black*", like Quink, that Tamil poets had to find a suitable word to translate "kṛṣṇa" into their own language, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that here we have the fundamental meaning of "Māl" as applied to this god or hero. Hence "*blackness*" *or* "*darkness*" *is basic to* "*Tirumāl*". Accordingly all the meanings that M.L. gives under Māl [3] are quite secondary and can be shown to flow from the basic ones that I have just shown as adhering to māl [2]. Hence the words "*cf. mahat*" that M.L. gives us at the beginning of its elucidation of māl [3] are quite misleading. Hence the semantic flow is in this manner:—Darkness > the Dark one or "Kṛṣṇa" in Tamil "Māl" > Viṣṇu, the great god > the great man, resembling Viṣṇu > greatness. Note that this last meaning comes mostly in late works and in lexicons like Piṅk. (பிங்கல நிகண்டு)

The second "mālai" at Pal. 334c, meaning originally "a garland", here denotes "the wearer of garlands" a woman, especially one who sings and dances, M. L. p. 3177, mālai,[3] meanings 1–3, 7–8. Here it points out Pinnai, better known as Vṛndā or Rādhā, the favourite consort of Kṛṣṇa among his thousand Gopis. Cf. Piṉṉai at M.L. p. 2729 and Nappiṉṉai at M.L. 2153, cf. Kīrar and Nakkīrar. Now let us study the Commentary on Paḷ. 334 b-c: திருமாலையும் பின்னை யென்பாள் தன் அழகினால் மயக்கச் செய்தாள் . . . . . . "மாலை யும் என்றது, பிறரை மால் செய்தலையே (i.e. confusing the minds of others) தொழிலாகக்கொண்டு அதனாலேயே இப் பெயரைப் பெற்றனர் என்பதே. திருமாலையே பின்னை மயக் குறுத்தாள். Rādhā, by her beauty, was able to confuse the mind of the great Confuser, to delude

the mind of the Deluder par excellence, Kṛṣṇa, on the banks of the Yamunā. Thus says the Com. The Paḷ. stanza blends pun and irony delightfully.

(*c*) From the above incident the author of Pal. 334 draws the conclusion, in line d:— (அஃதால்) சால்பினைச் சால்பறுக்கும் ஆறு. The Comm. explains it as மிகுதியினை மிக்கதோன்றல் அறுக்குமாற்றை ஒக்கும். It is somewhat similar to the English adage about diamond cutting diamonds. Note the occurance, twice in the same line, of "cālpu". This word "cāl" is peculiarly ancient, coming down from Proto-Dravidian times, as Tel. cālu (at present pronounced more like tsālu) = sufficiency; tsālunu = it is enough; tsāluṭa = to suffice; Kanarese sāl, Malayalam cāl and such other words testify. In ancient Tamil, it was a full verb, just as it is in modern Telugu, but somewhere between the age of Tolkāppiyam and that of Nannūl the verbal forms fell into desuetude in Tamil, where it became an "uriccol", which is a cross between an adjective and adverb. This will become clear to the impartial reader who compares the later Nannūl, 456:

சால உறுதவ நனிகூர் கழி மிகல்,

(The six words starting with "cāla" denote "abundance"), with Tol. Col. 299:

உறுதவ நனியென வருஉ(ம்) மூன்று(ம்)
மிகுதி செய்யும் பொருள் என்ப.

The meaning signified by the set of words is identical, but whereas Tol. Col. gives us only three (cala is emphatically not one of these), Nan. expands the set to six. The identical order of the three words that figure in both lists is

striking: it shows that the author of Naṉ. had Tol. Col before him and expanded that list of Tol. to suit his own. times. This deduction from the comparison of these two grammars is powerfully reinforced from a short study of a few ancient texts, where the Tam. verb "cālu" and its derivatives: "cālpu", "cāṉṟa" (the peyar eccam), "cāṉṟōr" (the viṉaiyāl aṇaiyum peyar, positive) and "cālār" (the above mentioned, but negative) occur. This investigation will tend to show that Paḷ., where this word occurs pretty often, comes much nearer the age of Tolkāppiyam than the time of Naṉṉūl.

As a full-blooded verb, "cālu" or "cāl" makes its first appearance in our extant Tam. texts where I have all allong taught my readers to expect it, namely in that exquisite anthology of "short Love Poems"—the "Kuṟuntokai". There in Poem 101 we read:—

விரிதிரைப் பெருங்கடல் வளைஇய உலகமும்
அரிதுபெறு சிறப்பிற் புத்தேள் நாடும்
இரண்டுந் தூக்கிற் சிர்சாலாவே . . . . .
. . . . குறுமகள்
தோள்மாறு படூஉம் வைகலொடு எமக்கே!

The Com. in brief runs thus: பூவுலக இன்பமும் ......தேவருலக இன்பமும் ஆகிய அவை இரண்டும்......இத் தலைவியினது தோளோடு தோள் மாறுபடத் தழுவும் இன்பத் தோடு ஒருங்குவைத்து ஆராய்ந்தால், எனக்கு அவ்விரண்டும் இத் துடன் ஒவ்வா. The earthly and the heavenly delights *are* both sadly *deficient*, when compared with the delight involved in my enjoyment of this young girl.

Here we see the verb employed in its original sense, to wit, *to be sufficiently large, great*

or abundant. Cālpu has the sense of "fitness" the "calmness" of the truly great, (in the Com. "takuti", "amaiti",) at Kṟt. 90:7; 366:2; Patiṟṟ. 19:13; 32:2 மாதிரம் விளக்குஞ் **சால்பும்** செம்மையும் Patiṟṟ. 74:19 **சால்புஞ்** செம்மையும் உளப்பட பிறவும். [The Com. lists here the qualities of true greatness (or cālpu) as அன்பும் நாணும் ஒப்புரவும் கண்ணோட்டமும் வாய்மையும் நடுவுநிலையும், quite a formidable set of virtues for our morning meditation and our nightly examination of conscience, if we seek them]. So again at Patiṟṟ. 82:14 வண்மையுஞ் செம்மையுஞ் **சால்பும்** அறனும்; likewise *at Pal. 59d* தான் நோன்றிட வரும் **சால்பு**.

"Cānra", the peyār eccam, is met with at Pura N. 11:7 பாடல் **சான்ற** விறல் வேந்தனும்மே.

"Cāṉṟōr", the most common of these derivatives, occurs at Kṟt. 102:4; 252:6; 265:3 தாம் அறி செம்மைச் **சான்றோர்**; Puṟa N. 34:20, 191:6-7 ஆன்ற விந்தடங்கிய கொள்கைச் **சான்றோர்**. Puṟa N. 218:5-7 gives both the positive and negative forms:—

.... என்றுஞ் **சான்றோர்**
சான்றோர் பாலர் ஆப;
சாலார் **சாலார்** பாலர் ஆகுபவே. This means:

"birds of the same feather flock together". Likewise at Puṟa N. 375:8. In all the above instances, the Com. renders "cāṉṟōr" as அறிவானும் நற்குணங்களானும் மிகுந்தமைந்த பெரியோர் = those great by their knowledge and virtues. At Puṟa N. 266:8, the Com. refers to the "literati" or learned ones, and at Puṟa N. 63:5, "warriors", excelling in their own martial virtues, are denoted by this term, "*cāṉṟōr*, we shall now study this group of words in the Kuṟ.

(அ) At Kuṟ. 25b, 165a, 475b, 770b, 1037b, 1060b, 1233a, we meet with "cal", as a verb: atu cālum =that is enough, *that suffices.* Here "cāl" is a full finite verb.

(ஆ) The noun "cālpu" occurs at Kuṟ. 105b, 956a, 983b, 984b, 986a, 987b, 988a, 1013b, 1064b. This last runs: (iṭam illāk) kālum irav-ollāc cālpu.

(இ) "cāṉṟōr" is pretty common, as at Kuṟ. 115b, 118b, 148a, 197a, 299a, 328a, 458a, 656b, 657a, 802b, 840a,, 922a, 923b, 982a, 985a, 1014a, 1078a.

(ஈ) The peyar eccam "cāṉṟa" occurs at least three times in the Kuṟ.: at 56a, 581a and at 1001a வைத்தான் வாய் சான்ற பெரும் பொருள்.

Parimēlaḻakar's Commentary on Kuṟ. 1001a runs thus:—

தன் மனையகலமெல்லாம் நிறைதற்கேதுவாய பெரும்பொருளை யீட்டிவைத்து உலோபத்தால் அதனை உண்ணாதவன். Note that the Com. equates "cāṉṟa" to (நிறைந்த) "niṟainta", which means "to be full", "being full".[5] Thus the Kuṟ. employs this set of words 41 times, at the least.

This group of words occurs about a score of times in the *Paḷ* too. As a verb, it makes its appearance at least 3 times, to wit,

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[5] (*a*) Kuṟ. has also the formation "cāṉṟāṇmai" at 981b, 989a, 990a. This is to be found likewise at Nālaṭi: 126b, 142a, 179c. Nāl. employs "cāl" verbally at 7a, 34c, 49d, 140a, 188c, 243d, 318a, and the noun "cāṉṟōr" at 58d, 68d, 100c, 126a, 133a, 151b, 152b, 153a, 165c, 179b, 227b, 275c, 298d, 316c, 343b, 344b, 349b, 356c, 357b, 368a.

(*b*) There is a variant of "cāṉṟōr" as "cāṉṟavar", as at Kuṟ. 990a. The singular form "cāṉṟōn" occurs at least once in the Kuṟ., namely at 69b. Nāl. too employs "cāṉṟavar" at 41a, 154a, 190b, 255c, 295b. Thus we find words of this stem: "cāl" employed 35 times in Nālaṭiyār.

122a urai cāṉṟa = pukaḻ niṟainta, Com.

242a cāla = mikuṭiyāṉavaikaḷaikkūri, Com.

87c cālavum mikkavar = mikavum uyarntavar, Com.

The noun "cālpu" occurs at 59d, 334 (twice in line d), 339c.

The nominal formation from the verbal, termed viṉaiyāl aṇaiyum peyar, is found *in our work either* as

(*a*) Cāṉṟavaṉ, as at 81b, 185b; and its plural, at 49b, 75a, 83c, 242a, *or* as

(*b*) Cāṉṟōr, as at 74d, 82c, 85b, 86c, 122a, 180c.

This wealth of instances on the part of this ancient verb "cāl", and of its derivatives should lead us to ascribe an early date to Paḷ. among our classical Tamil texts.

Having dealt so extensively with the *linguistic* aspect of "cālpu", let us consider for a moment its *philosophical* aspect. A mother speaking at Puṟa N. 312:1-2, distinguishes her duty from that of the father in educating their son to become wise, learned and respectable, in these words:—

ஈன்றுபுறந் தருதல் என்தலைக் கடனே:
சான்றோன் ஆக்குதல் தந்தைக்குக் கடனே.

While citing Patiṟṟ. 74:19 above, I mentioned qualities that are essential thereto. They are the same that constitute the Greek "didaskalos", the Latin "magister", the Sanskritic "guru". Semantic growth and developmets are quite parallel in several languages, whether Dravidian, Indo-Aryan or Semitic. In these we find this development:—big, large, great > preceptor, teacher,

"guru". Thus Latin "gravis" = weighty, elevated, dignified, as in Cicero, where it is predicated of "testis, auctor". Its *equivalent,* Sk. "guru" = weighty, excellent; any venerable or respectable person. Sk. "mah", originally "magh" (M.W. p. 753) = to be great. Lat. has "magnus" = great, "magis" = larger, rather, whence the noun "magister" = teacher. The greek original at Matthew, 2:1 "mágoi 'apò' analotṓn" should be rendered "the preceptors or ācāryas from the Oriental lands", chiefly Persia [or modern Iran, from the original "Airanya" = the Aryan land; cf. E. Rhys: Atlas of Ancient Geography, pages 58–59: Media and Ariana].

This semantic development in the Indo-European languages has its parallel in the Semitic or West Asian tongues. Thus, in Hebrew, "*rabh*" has the following connotations, in this order: (1) much; (2) enough or abundant, exactly corresponding to Tel. tsālu and Tam. Cāl: (3) vast, great; (4) a great man, a noble by station or dignity or qualities. Cf. Samuel Bagster's Hebrew Lexicon, 1959, p. 239. According to the Semitic habit of grafting personal pronominal suffixes, like "ī", to the nouns, we get "rabbī" = my master, as at John 1:38; 3:26; 9:2 and often elsewhere in the Christian gospels, which we possess only in the Greek and its translations. As Greek has no separate letter to denote the long "ī" of the Hebrew and Aramaic, the word in Greek takes the form of Rabbei ò légetài Didáskale, or (ò légetai methermēneuómenon Didáskale) or of 'Rabbonnei', as at John 20:16. At John 3:10, Jesus addresses the Pharisee a member of the Sanhedrin or Supreme Council (71

members) of the Jewish nation, named Nicodemus and rebukes him thus: "Art thou a *Master* 'ὀ didàskalos toū' Israèl in Israel and knowest not these things?" The original speech of Jesus would have been "*Rabh*" in the Hebrew-Aramaic tongues.

Now I make the point of this long dissertation. I have never seen in any Tamil lexicon or vocabulary or dictionary the connotation of "masters, preceptors" given to "caṉṟōr". Still the semantic developments in these two groups of languages would lead us to postulate a similar one in the Dravidian. Further, we are told by commentators that when Tolkāppiyaṉār so often alludes to his predecessors and states "eṉpa, moḻipa", we are to supply the word "cāṉṟōr". In this case this can only mean the masters of grammar or the prefect "literati". Moreover, even in colloquial speech we often hear the phrase: "cāṉṟōrccollai ppiṉpaṟṟutal". One last point in one translation of the Kuṟ. I note that "cālpu" at 987b is rendered as "perfect goodness". Hence "cāṉṟōr" could be rendered likewise as "*the perfect*", provided it is not taken in the pharisaic sense and one does not include oneself in this category, while relegating the others to the opposite camp—the "perfect warriors", as at Puṟa N. 63 : 5 ; 312 : 2, the Tamil Sir Galahads; or "perfect masters" of grammar or literature, the Tamil Pāṇinis and Kālidāsas; or the "morally perfect" the "enlightened ones", in adages, maxims and moral aphorisms.

9. Let us now return to Kṛṣṇa. In the previous number, 8, we saw him as a young and amorous shepherd with flowing hair and a flute

in his hand, enjoying himself in the pleasant company of the Gōpīs or "āyarmakaḷir," shepherdesses on the banks of the Yamunā. Now we shall continue his life-story further and narrate a few of his martial exploits that are alluded to in Paḻ. At Mahābhārata, 2:1441; 5:4410; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, page 526 (Dr. Hall's edition, Vol. 4, page 315), in the Harivaṃsa and the Raghuvaṃsa, Kṛṣṇa is extolled as the great protector of cows and cowherds, chiefly because of the "*gōvardhana*" incident. This is a celebrated hill in Vṛndāvana. Indra sent a terrible storm to test Kṛṣṇa's divine prowess. The cowherds with their flocks and herds came running helter-shelter to Kṛṣṇa for protection therefrom. Kṛṣṇa thereupon lifted up the "gōvardhana" hill and supported it upon one finger for seven days to shelter the cowherds from the storm. cf. Supplementary Note 1.

(*a*) At Paḻ. 42a--b, we get the Tamil version of this incident:—

> ஆவிற்கு அரும்பனி தாங்கிய மாலையும்
> கோவிற்கு கோவலன் என்றுலகம் கூறுமால்.

We note that the cold rain that accompanied the heavy thunderstorm is termed "arum" difficult to endure and "paṉi", a word that is usually reserved to do or snow-fall; that "Kṛṣṇa" is not yet rendered as "Kaṇṇaṉ" or "Kṛṭṭiṉaṉ" as nowadays, but as "māl", meaning the "dark one", and that he now acquires the sobriquet or nickname of Kōvalaṉ or Gōvinda. The Com. hereon describes the event more vividly:—"இந்திரன் சினந்து ஏவிய மழையைக் கண்ணன் மலைகொண்டு தடுத்து ஆக்களைக் காப்பாற்றிய செய்தி.... ஆக்களைக் காவல் செய்தல் அறம், சிறந்த அறம்.... இதுபற்றியே புறநா. 6:1 'ஆவும் ஆனியற் பார்ப்பன மாக்களும்' என கூறுநிற்கும்."

(*b*) Pal. 75(b-d) briefly alludes to this incident :— ....பல்லா

> நிரைப்புறங் காத்த நெடியோனே ஆயினும்
> உரைத்தால் உரைபெறுதல் உண்டு

The Com. states: பலவாகிய பசுக் கூட்டங்களைக் காத்த நீண்ட வடிவெடுத்த திருமாலேயாயினும், சபையில் ஒருவனை இகழ்ந்துரைத்தால், தாமும் அவனால் இகழ்ச்சியுரையை அடைதல் உண்டு.

About this I shall deal shortly. The Com. adds: "நெடியோனேயாயினும்" என்று உயர்த்துக் கூறுவதால், இந் நூலாசிரியர் திருமாலிடம் அன்புடையார் என்பது பெறப்படும். We shall discuss this point in the last section (VI) of this research-study, in the third article.

From Pal. 42a-b and 75b-d the Com. argues that the author was a Vaishnavite in religion.

10. The Com. on Pal. 75c-d is very defective, as the interesting anecdote, which the *author* of Pal. had certainly in mind but which he could not mention within the contracted space of the 15 "cīr" in a "veṇpā" stanza, has been completely left out, although the *commentator* had all the space that he needed. Unless this incident is recalled to mind, the reader will not be able to perceive the exact force of the adage: "when one scolds, one must expect to be rebuked"—"uraittāl urai peṟutal uṇṭu," Pal. 75d.

The eldest of the Pāṇḍava princes, Yudhiṣṭhira, resolved to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice and was joined by Kṛṣṇa. Cf. the Mahābhārata, Sabhā-parvan, 5:1211 and read on to stanza 1451. Numerous kings assembled to witness the celebration. An *assembly* is termed "Sabhā" in Sanskrit: hence comes the name of this section of

MBh., namey Sabhā-parvan. In Tamil, which has no sibilant, this word becomes "*avai*", as at Paḻ. 17d, 20a, 23a, b, 24a, b, 25b, 75a. It is clear that the author of Paḻ. 75 had such an *assembly* in mind from the first two lines :—

பல்லார் அவைநடுவண் பாற்பட்ட சான்றவர்
சொல்லார் ஒருவரையும் உள்ளுன்ற.

Then follow the two lines which I have just cited, under No. 9b above. The context too thus favours the interpretation that I make here. I shall now describe this incident in some detail for the sake of clarity.

At this assembly Kṛṣṇa seems to have made a *few disparaging remarks* at the expense of Śiśupāla, king of the Cēdis, whom M.W. on page 1076 speaks of as inhabitants of Bundelkhand in Central India. This *rebuke* of Kṛṣṇa seems to have cut Śiśupāla to the quick and pierced his soul. Let the reader grasp the force of the phrase "uḷ ūṉṟa" in Paḻ. 75b and of "uraittāl" in the next line. There arose an implacable hostility between the two warriors, an enmity that lasted till Kṛṣṇa slew his rival in the manner so admirably described by Māgha in his "Śiśupālavadha", a B.A. textbook in the Mysore and London Universities in certain years. But immediately there was a terrible diatribe on Śiśupāla's part against Kṛṣṇa, in these words :— "Thou art a transgressor of the injunctions of the law (smṛti), a contemptible and ill-instructed person". Then, not deigning to speak to Kṛṣṇa, he speaks of him to the others :—"He is not a king, or a person venerable from age; his father Vasudeva, being still alive; he has unjustly killed Jarāsandha. Kṛṣṇa is like a dog devouring

in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered "......" Ayuktām ātmanaḥ pūjām tvam punar bahu manyasē:

Haviṣaḥ prāpya nisyandam prāśitā svēva nirjanē"

In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, X, 74 : 34, Śiśupāla's speech on the same occasion contains a more vehement invective against Kṛṣṇa. The former asks: "How does this cowherd, the vilest of his race, deserve homage, any more than a *black crow* deserves to eat an oblation?" In these words one detects an allusion to Kṛṣṇa's *dark skin*, which aroused in the "white" prince from Cēdi that unreasoning contempt and superciliousness, which, in the Convocation Address at the University of London in June 1949, drew forth from another Krishna [Menon] the stern rebuke they deserve, in modern times, as indulged in by some half-witted Europeans and "white"-inebriated Americans, and recently by the "piedsnoirs" in Algeria.

Kṛṣṇa then addressed the assembled princes thus: This malignant man is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sātvatas, who have done him no wrong. He burned my capital, Dvārakā. He carried off my father's horse which was intended for the sacrifice. In his infatuation he carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru and the devout Bhadrā, my cousin...... He sought to gain Rukminī; but the fool did not obtain her, as a Śūdra is excluded from the "Vēda". This mention of Rukminī was a "faux pas" (or false step) on Kṛṣṇa's part Bhīṣmaka, king of Kuṇḍina in the country of the Vidarbhas, Berar, and his son Rukmiṇī, both gave Rukminī, the beautiful princess, to Śiśupāla, al-

though Kṛṣṇa loved her and the sweetly smiling maid loved Kṛṣṇa. The latter came to witness the nuptials of his rival, and *carried off the princess on the eve of the wedding.*[6] cf. Harivaṃsa, Section 117, verses 6579 ff., Bhagavata Purāṇa, X, sections 43 ff. Accordingly the mighty Śiśupāla, hearing these words of Kṛṣṇa, laughed a sonorous laugh and spoke thus: "How is it that thou art not ashamed, Kṛṣṇa, thus in this assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukminī, who was betrothed to me?"

In this bitter dialogue between these two princes we see the truth of the proverb, already cited: "uraittāl urai peṟutal uṇṭu".

11. Kṛṣṇa is supposed to be an "avatar" (or incarnation) of Viṣṇu. Let us pass on now from the "avatar" to the god himself. He is mentioed in at least two stanzas of Paḻ. First I shall take Paḻ. 301:—

வாள்திறலானை வளைத்தார்கள் அஞ்ஞான்று
வீட்டிய சென்றார்; விளங்கொளி—காட்டப்
பொருவறு தன்மைகண்டு அஃதொழிந்தார் அஃதால்
உருவு திருவூட்டும் ஆறு.

The commentary runs thus:—முன்னொரு காலத்தில் **நாந்தகம்** எனும் வாளினையுடைய மிக்க திறல் பொருந்திய திருமாலைக் கொல்லும்பொருட்டுச் சென்ற **மதுகைடவர்** என்போர் வளைந்து சூழ்ந்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது அவன் நிலைபெற்று விளங்குகின்ற தனது திருமேனியின் ஒளியைக்காட்ட, ஒப்பில்லாத வடிவின் தன்மையைக்கண்டு, தாம் கொண்ட மாறுபாட்டினின்றும் நீங்கினார்கள். ஆனதினாலே அழகிய வடிவே செல்வத்தை ஊட்டும் நெறி. எங்ஙனம் அவனின் உருவப் பொலிவால் அவனின் பகைவர் அவன் வயமானாரோ, அங்ஙனமே உம் பகைவர் உம்மைக்கண்ட அளவிலேயே வெருண்டு மாறுகோடலை

[6] Kindly look up supplementary note 3 at the very end of this article. "ff" means "the following verses."

ஒழிவாராயின், நீர் உமது செல்வத்தை யாதுமோரு இடையூறின்றி துய்க்கலாமன்றே !

[The last sentence in the above com. is my own, in the spirit of the author].

To understand this text thoroughly, we must examine these points:

(*a*) *Viṣṇu's personal characteristics.* As distinguished from the other Vedic deities, he is a personification of the light, especially that of the Sun. Hence his name "Viṣṇu" from "viṣ", meaning "All-pervader". He is mentioned in the Rig-Veda as striding over the heavens in *three paces,* which designate the three daily stations of the Sun in his rising, culminating at the zenith, and setting. In the post-Vedic period, the distinguishing feature in Viṣṇu's character is his condescending to become incarnate in a portion of his essence on ten principal occasions to deliver mankind from certain great dangers. His paradise is called Vaikuṇṭha. He is usually represented with a peculiar mark on his breast called Śrī-vatsa, probably after Śrī or Lakṣmī, his chief wife and consort. His shining, brilliant appearance is recalled in our text here in the words: "viḷaṅku oḷi kāṭṭa" and "uruvu", in lines b and d respectively, of stanza 301, which I have just cited.

(*b*) *Viṣṇu's weapons.* He is represented as holding a śaṅkha or conch-shell called Pāñcajanya, a cakra or quoit-like missile-weapon called Sudarśana, a gadā or club called Kaumodakī, a bow called Śārṅga and *a sword called Nandaka.* It is to this sword that Paḷ. 301(a) calls attention. In the MBh. epic, Kṛṣṇa is often called Nandakin,

i.e. the possessor of Nandaka. In a similar manner Paḷ. calls him the expert warrior with this sword: the Com. gives us its name. Cf. "vāḷ" in the text and "nāntakam" in the com.

(c) *Viṣṇu's foes.* The demons slain by him in his character of "preserver from evil" are *Madhu*, Dhēnuka, Cāṇura, Yamala, Arjuna, Kālanēmi, Hayagrīva, Śakaṭa, Ariṣṭa, *Kaiṭabha*, Kēśin, Mura, Śālva, Mainda, Dvivida, Rāhu, Hiraṇyakaśipu, Bāṇa, Kāliya, Naraka, Bali, quite a formidable list. The text of Paḷ. 301 a–c does not specify the foes of Viṣṇu in this incident; but the Com. specifies Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Madhu, at M.L. p. 3059 and M.W. p. 779, is the name of two Asuras, the one killed by Viṣṇu, the other by Satrughna, in MBh. Hariv. and Pur. Kaiṭabha, at M.L. p. 1104 and M.W. p. 311, is an Asura, slain by Viṣṇu, in MBh. 3; Hariv. etc.

12. Another instance where Viṣṇu is mentioned in our work is Paḷ. 177b-c:—

. . . . கொற்றப்புள்
ஊர்ந்துலகம் தாவின அண்ணலே ஆயினும். . . .

The Com. states:—வெற்றியையுடைய கருடன் மீது ஏறி வீற்றிருந்து, உலகத்தைத் தாவியளந்த பெருமைபொருந்திய திருமாலேயாயினும். . . . . திருமால் முதலியோரும் தமக்கு ஊதியம் பயப்பதாயின் பழிபாவம் பாரார்.

To grasp the full significance of this, we must examine the following items:—

(a) *Viṣṇu's "vāhanam" or favourite vehicle, "garuḍa".* This was a mythical bird, chief of the feathered race and enemy of the serpents, which it devoured. Hence its name "garuḍa", which means "devourer". At MBh. I, 1239 ff. we find this anecdote about Garuḍa:—He was the

son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā. Shortly after his birth, he frightened the gods by his brilliant lustre. They supposed him to be Agni, the god of fire, and requested his protection. He first brought the Soma plant from the lofty heights of the Mujavat peak in the Himālaya and gave it to the Vedic Āryans, who were thus enabled to perform the Soma sacrifice. In MBh. I. Ch. 33, Garuḍa is said to have vied with the Sun for supremacy. He aspired to be the lord of the Dēvas; but Viṣṇu persuaded him to submit to the Dēvas, and in return for this homage to the gods on Garuḍa's part, Viṣṇu promised him that he would always be perched over Viṣṇu's head. It was thus that Garuḍa came to occupy a place atop Viṣṇu's throne or chariot. Hence we are not surprised when Paḻ. 177 calls him the "regal bird: Koṟṟappuḷ".

(*b*) *Viṣṇu's three strides.* These are often mentioned in the Vedas, especially at RV. I. 22 : 17–18 :—

> idám víṣṇur vícakramē trēdhá nidadhē
> padám sámulhamasya pāṃsurḗ :

> *trīṇi padā́* vícakramē viṣṇur gōpā́ ádābhyaḥ
> áto dhármāṇi dhārāyan.

This I translate below :—

(verse 17) This Viṣṇu strode; in a threefold manner he put his foot down, arranged in his dusty place.

(verse 18) Viṣṇu *strode three steps,* the trusty guardian.
likewise the one who fixes the ordinances firmly.

At Rigveda I. 154, in every one of its six stanzas, *one or other* of the three steps of Viṣṇu is eulogized; in stanzas 1, 2, 3 and 4, all the three steps are mentioned. The reader who wishes to pursue this item further should read A. C. Das: Rig-Vedic India, 1921, pp. 544–548: *Visnu's Three strides.* Pal. 177c sums up this aspect of Viṣṇu's personality very concisely in this apt phrase: "ulakam tāviṉa aṇṇal" = "the Lord who *strode over the world*". We now bid him "adieu" and the readers "au revoir".

Supplementary Note–1. In connexion with 9 (a) above, I intended at first to give a footnote: but as this would work out to more than a page, it could not conveniently be so inserted. Hence I am giving this incident, and similar incidents, explanations and comparisons, as supplementary notes. This one is taken from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa as translated by H. H. Wilson, 3rd edition, Calcutta, 1961, pages 420–421.

Indra, being thus disappointed of his offerings, was exceedingly angry, and thus addressed a cohort of his attendant clouds: "Hear ye my words. The insensate cowherd, Nanda, has withheld the usual offerings to us, relying upon the protection of Kṛṣṇa. Now therefore afflict the cattle with rain and wind. Mounted upon my elephant, I will aid you in strengthening the tempest". The clouds, obedient to Indra's commands, came down at once in a fearful storm of rain and wind to destroy the cattle, which were the sustenance of these cowherds. In an instant the earth, the points of the horizon and the sky were all blended into one by the heavy and incessant shower. The clouds roared aloud, as if in

terror of the lightning's scourge, and poured down uninterrupted torrents. The whole earth was enveloped in impenetrable darkness by the thick and voluminous clouds. Above, below and on every side the world was water. (Now the reader should be able to grasp the full significance of the words of Paḻ. 42a :—aviṟku arumpaṉi tāṅkiya)

The cattle, pelted by the storm, shrunk cowering into the smallest size, or gave up their breath. Some covered their calves with their flanks, and some beheld their young ones carried away by the flood. Trembling in the wind, the calves looked piteously at their mothers, or implored in low moans, as it were, the succour of Kṛṣṇa. Hari, beholding all Gokula agitated with alarm, cowherds, cowherdesses and cattle all in a state of consternation, thus reflected: "This is the work of the great Indra, in resentment of the prevention by me of his sacrifice. Thus it is iucumbent on me to defend this station of herdsmen. I will lift up this spacious mountain from its strong base and hold it up, as a large umbrella, over the cowpens".

Having thus determined, Kṛṣṇa immediately plucked up the mountain, Gōvardhana, and held it aloft with one hand, in sport, saying to the herdsmen: "Lo! the mountain is on high. Enter beneath it quickly, and it will shelter you from the storm" Upon this all the people, with their herds and their waggons and goods and the Gōpīs, distressed by the wind and rain, repaired to the shelter of the mountain, which Kṛṣṇa held steadily over their heads.. ... For seven days and night did the vast clouds, sent by' Indra, rain upon the Gōkula of Nanda to

destroy its inhabitants, but they were protected by the lifting up of the mountain. At length being foiled in his purpose, Indra commanded the clouds to cease. His threats having been fruitless and the heavens becoming clear, all Gōkula came forth from its shelter and returned to its own abode. Then Kṛṣṇa, in the sight of the surprised inhabitants of the forest, restored the great mountain, Gōvardhana ('the fosterer of cows') to its original site". [Now we understand the full force of Paḻ. 42b:—mālaiyume kōviṟku kōvalaṉ eṉṟ-ulakam kūṟum-āl]. Thus this passage from the viṣṇu Purāṇa throws a flood of light on the mythological incident, which is so concisely described in the first two lines of Paḻ. 42.

Supplementary Note–2. Porunai, like Toḻunai, is the name of a river, as is evident from even a cursory reading of the texts concerned:—Cilap. 28: 126, தண் ஆன்பொருநை; Puṟa N. 11: 5 தண் பொருநைப் புனல் பாயும்; 387: 34 கல்லென் பொருநை மணல்; Puṟa N. 36: 5 தண் ஆன் பொருநை வெண்மணல் சிதைய. The Dravidian root "poru" means "to meet, join, unite" and comes in very handy to connote a *river*, whose waters blend with those of the sea much better than those of drains, gutters and sewers, the "aṅkaṇam" of Nālaṭi 175:—

ஊர் அங்கணநீர் உரவுநீர்ச் சேர்ந்தக்கால்
பேரும் பிறிதாகித் தீர்த்தமாம்.

From "poru", with the help of two ancient verbs, which later became particles namely "un" and "āy" > "ai", was formed the name of this river, or rather rivers, at least two in number: the one termed "āṉ porunai", as at Puṟa N. 36: 5 (above) and Aka N. 93: 23 தண் ஆன் பொருநை மணலினும் பலவே; and the other, the Tāmraparṇi, in Tamil

தாமிர பரணி. The former is in the Cēra country, near Karūr, the latter in the Pāṇḍiyan kingdom. Cf. M.L. pages 2934 and 260. On its page 1838 the latter is spelt as தாமிர பருணி. Similarly, from "to̱lu" an ancient variant of "toṭu", [just as "i̱li" = to descend, be degraded, come down to small proportions, as at Naṟṟ. 114 : 12; Aka N. 66 : 13; 384 : 8; Kuṟ. 964a, b; Nāl. 79a; Pal̲. 15c; Tol. Por. 469 : 2, 474 : 3, is a simple verbal varient of the causative "iṭi", as at Cīv. 592b,] is formed "to̱lunai", which seems to parallel the Sanskritic equivalent "yamunā", as regards its semantic origins. It is quite evident to any one travelling in that region of North-East India that the Yamunā is *the twin brother* of the Gaṅgā, both as regards their size, as the largest rivers, and the eastward direction of their flow. It is in this geographical fact that one must see the origin of the name "Yamunā": for, from Rigvedic, if not earlier, times. "yamá" means a twin. Cf. Latin "gemini." The connexion between "yam" = to hold back, curb (M.W. p. 845) and "yama" (M.W. p. 846), is brought out tersely in Grassmann's Worterbuch zum Rig-veda p. 1096, *yamá*, von **yam** in der Bedeutung "*verbinden*", (1) verbunden, verschwistert, als-Zwillinge *gepaart*. In this sense "yamá" occurs at RV. 164 : 15; 230 : 2; 411 : 4 and 500 : 2 *adjectivally*. It is in this signification that "to̱lunai" in Tamil, or rather in proto-Dravidian, is rendered "yamunā" in Sanskrit. I have shown above that the bases of each of these words, "to̱l"—and "yam"—have, each in its own language, the same meaning of "being linked together as a pair": "*gepaart*". The formatives that are added to this base are iden-

tical in both words, if we reflect that Sanskrit dreads "ai" as the ending of words and changes it to "—ā" final, as Tam. mālai > Sk. mālā. Cf. the Tam. words "alar", "malar" = to bloom, as a flower. Thus "yam-un-ā" is the exact equivalent of "toḻ-un-ai". Now, these formatives have *no significance in Sanskrit,* whereas they are *very significant in Dravidian.* Hence it is clear that in this case, as in several others, Sanskrit has borrowed its geographical names from the Dravidian tongues which were spoken on the banks of the Kaṅkai (Gaṅgā) and Toḻunai (yamunā) at least till 1,500, B.C.

Supplementary Note 3A. Kṛṣṇa here closely resembles the Scottish hero, the brave young Lochinvar, whose exploit Sir Walter Scott narrates below :—

O young Lochinvar is come out of the west.........
But ere he alighted at Netherby gate,
The bride had consented, the gallant came late.........
So boldly he entered the Netherby Hall,
Among bride'smen and kinsmen, and brothers, and all...
"I long woo'd your daughter, my suit you denied......
And now am I come, with this lost love of mine
To lead but one measure, drink one cup of wine".
The bride kissed the goblet, the knight took it up;
He quaffed off the wine, and he threw down the cup.
She looked down to blush, and she looked up to sigh,
With a smile on her lips, and a tear in her eye.
He took her soft hand................................ ......
One touch to her hand, and one word in her ear,
When they reached the hall-door, and the charger stood near;
So light to the croupe the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprung;
"She is won! we are gone, over bank, bush and scaur,
They'll have fleet steeds that follow", quoth young Lochinvar.

3B. Another British parallel to this is found in the English ballad which graphically describes how the Lord of Ulva, like the brave Lochinvar, carried off Lord Ullin's daughter.

1. "A Chieftain to the Highlands bound
Cries, "Boatman, do not tarry;
And I will give thee a silver pound
To row us over the ferry".

2. Now who be ye, would cross Lochgyle,
This dark and stormy water?"
"O I'm the *chief of Ulva's* isle,
And this *Lord Ullin's daughter.*

3. And fast before her father's men
Three days we have fled together,
For should he find us in the glen,
My blood would stain the heather".

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

Efficient Methods of Telegraphy, Typewriting and Teleprinting in Tamil

GIFT SIROMONEY

i. Telegraphy :

Sending a message in a given language by the most efficient way is a problem in Communication Engineering. The message can be communicated using on arbitrary code made up of dots and dashes, but the method will not be efficient even though it may be practicable. For instance, a passage in Tamil can be written in the Roman script and transmitted in the same way as a passage in English is, using the Morse code. This method is practicable and it can be easily shown that it is not efficient.

The Morse code used for transmitting message in English is an efficient method for the English language of the days of Morse. It was originally based on the frequencies of the letters of the alphabet in English. For example, the letter *e* is the most frequent letter in English and it is represented by a dot (·). *z* however, occurs very infrequently and it is represented by a long sequence of dots and dashes (- - · ·). *For the most efficient method of coding, the more frequently a letter occurs in a language, the shorter should be its code symbol.* The frequencies of the letters in English are quite different from those in Tamil. *Therefore, for the most efficient and economic method of sending a message, there must be a separate code for Tamil.*

One method is to give a separate symbol in dots and dashes for each of the 247 letters in Tamil. For one thing, this involves a tremendous amount of mental effort on the operator, to remember 247 *long* sequences of dots and dashes which include about 120 sequences of length 7 units. Out of the 247 letters, 216 (Uyirmei) are combinations of the 30 (12 vowels + 18 consonants) basic letters excluding the auxiliary (aitham), For the combination க்+அ, we have the symbol க but அ+க் is not represented by a separate letter in Tamil. A statistical study shows that the combinations of vowel (Uyir) following a consonant, (Mei) and a consonant following a vowel, are equally frequent. This means that அ+க் must be represented by a sequence of dots and dashes in the code if க்+அ is represented by a separate sequence. When the telegraphic system is manually operated, we have to find some other method where the number of symbols will not be large.

It is possible to reduce the number of symbols from 247 to about 60 different symbols as in the case of the Tamil typewriter. I have worked out the relative frequencies of these symbols (Fig. 2) and the shortest code symbol must be assigned to the most frequent letter and so on to obtain efficiency in coding. To transmit க், க may be transmitted first, followed by the symbol ·. For transmitting கி, க may be followed by the ி, as is the practice in writing Tamil.

A third method is to take the basic 30 letters of 12 vowels and 18 consonants. The word *AMMA:* will be treated as a four-letter one.

which is treated as the three-letter word when the 247 letter alphabet is used. The frequencies of the different letters, which may be treated as the 30 basic sounds in Tamil, are given in Fig. 1, along with the code symbols suggested by me.

Each symbol is represented by a sequence of dots and dashes, whose length does not exceed 4 units. This method compares favourable with the Morse code, for English and our code represents the quickest and the most economical method of transmitting messages in Tamil.

In practice, a few more symbols, (including Aitham, the Grantha letters, numerals and period) will have to be represented by sequences of dots and dashes of length 5 units.

ii. Typewriting :

With the introduction of Tamil as the medium of official communication in Madras state, the need for a Tamil typewriter was keenly felt and in 1958, the Government of Madras approved a "standardised" keyboard. Accepting the different symbols and letters in this keyboard, we shall analyse here, whether the arrangement is efficient and whether it is possible to increase the speed of typing by changing the positions of some of the keys.

The total number of symbols used on the keyboard is 69, which are sufficient to type all the letters (except ஞு and ஞூ which occur mostly in Tamil primers) including Aitham and the usual Grantha letters. For typing the Tami letters,

alone, there are 62 symbols arranged on 31 keys. 32 keys cover all letters, a comma and a period. Half the symbols are in the upper casing and the others in the lower casing. As in the English typewriter, the shift key has to be pressed before typing the letters in the upper casing. The letter க் is typed by typing first the dot (·) and then the letter க. It is so arranged that the typewriter carriage does not move after the dot is typed. There are three such "dead stops". For typing கி, கீ, ி and ீ are typed first and then க.

As the number of symbols increases, the effort to remember these various positions increases. Compared to English, the effort is much greater in Tamil. To reduce the effort, the keyboard is constructed in such a way that there is a certain amount of regularity. For instance, ஓ and ஒ, க and கு are arranged in the same key. However there is no general rule such as in English, where the capital letters and the corresponding small letters belong to the same key.

To overcome the greater effort needed for remembering the 62 symbols, the learning period for a typist, must be increased. Once one is thoroughly trained, there should be little difficulty in remembering the different positions. Even if the initial difficulties are greater, that system which will give the faster speed must be adopted. This principle is generally accepted (if it were not so, the keyboard would be in the direct alphabetic order, starting with a, a: , from the top left hand corner) but not systematically put to practical use.

Therefore it is necessary that *the letters which occur very frequently should be arranged in the most advantageous positions on the keyboard.* This implies that the least frequent letters should be put in the upper casing thereby reducing the number of times the shift key has to be used. Among the letters which occur frequently, the most frequent letters should be arranged in such a way that they may be operated by the forefingers and the middle fingers in the middle rows of the typewriter.

To find out what letters are frequent and what are not, a statistical study was undertaken by me, to get reliable figures. The result is based on a sample taken using random sampling techniques. Only the prose works were considered and the frequencies are based on about 500,000 pages published in Madras State during 1946—57. More than 20,000 letters were counted to make sure of the reliability of the frequencies. In Fig. II, the number in the brackets gives the number of times the letter occurs (subject to fluctuations of sampling) in a sample of 10,000 symbols. For example, in a passage of length 10,000 letters, one may expect ரு to occur 128 times and மு 68 times. In actual practice, the figures may not give the exact result but they will be very close. The larger the sample, the closer will be the approximation.

து occurs 155 times, ரு 128 times, கு 106 times and டு 81 times. All these are in the upper casing and it means that the shift key has to be used before typing out each letter. On the other hand, ஞு occurs once, ஒ 27 times, உ 59

times and டி 67 times. All these are in the lower casing. To minimise the use of shift keys (and to increase the speed of typing) து, ரு, கு and ெ must be brought to the lower casing and ஞு, ஓ, உ and டி transferred to the upper casing.

The dot used for all the pure consonants like க், ங், . . . is the most frequent symbol occurring 1848 times. This makes the little finger of the right hand, the most hard-worked. Also, the symbol ா has a high frequency of 645 to be typed by the same little finger. If these symbols are operated by the middle finger, for instance, the fatigue on the little finger will be reduced and the speed may be increased.

In English, the space bar is more frequently used than the most frequent letter E. In Tamil, however, the dot is used about 39% more often than the space bar, and some adjustment has to be made in the Tamil typewriter. It will be worthwhile constructing a keyboard, where the dot can be typed using part of the "bar" used for "space." For example, the bar can be divided into three equal sections and the middle portion used for the dot, so that it may be operated by either of the thumbs.

The bar (-) and the question mark (?) need not be kept so close to the other letters but put on a key to the extreme right. This will increase the compactness and all the necessary keys will be near the guide row. It is possible to make some more improvements by studying the frequencies given in Fig. II.

iii. Teleprinter :

For the purposes of constructing a teleprinter, the number of symbols must be drastically reduced. One solution is to do away with the Uyirmei and have the 30 basic letters only. One may even leave out the two dipthongs. Then the present English teleprinter can easily be converted to Tamil. It is very doubtful whether this suggestion will be accepted.

A more acceptable solution will be to reduce the number of symbols used in the present keyboard. றா, னா, ணா are not frequent. They may be removed and written as றா, னா and ணா. Similarly தூ, நூ,... may be written as தூ, நூ,... thereby removing the symbol ா. A new symbol ு may be introduced to take care of து, று, ஞு,... It must fit in with த, ந,...to give து, நு,... ஆ can be removed and written as அ+ா. If a new symbol ு is introduced, we can do away with ரு, கு, ஞு,... By this method 15 symbols can be omitted and the number of symbols is reduced to 47. For sending numbers some convention must be agreed upon as to what letters should represent each numeral (Fig. IV) and the Tamil numerals must be used following the decimal system. 320 will be written as ௩ ௨ O where O is a new symbol.

In the modern English teleprinters, 52 symbols can be printed and with our 47 symbols for Tamil letters, we can choose 5 more useful symbols, like the period, zero, Grantha letters like ஸ and ஜ or some other symbols for Tamil numerals. Then the Grantha letters ஷ, ஹ and க்ஷ

may be obtained by using the symbols உ, ஃ, ற, கூ combining them in suitable ways. Letters like ஜா, ஜி, ஷா, ஷி can be represented by equivalent symbols. For instance, ஜா can be printed as ஜ்உ. The keyboards designed by the author are given in Figs. VI and VII.

In the Hindi teleprinter, 54 symbols can be printed, including the 10 Arabic numerals, 0, 1, 2,... 9. It must be possible to adapt such a keyboard to Tamil, provided the number of symbols for printing Tamil letters can be reduced to 44. ஞ and ஈ may be represented as combinations of ன, ா and a new symbol /. க can be represented as க if the symbol | in ய is replaced by a longer symbol |. Instead of the separate symbol டு, we may have to use a combination of ட and ு. க and டு as suggested here are very similar to the corresponding characters in the Rają Raja Chola's Tamil script. Now the total number of symbols reduces to 44 and the Hindi teleprinter can easily be converted into a Tamil one. In this case the Grantha letters ஸ, ஜ and their combinations cannot be represented.

The counting experiment, using random sampling techniques, was conducted under the supervision of Dr. W. F. Kibble, Professor of Mathematics, Madras Christian College and the late Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai was consulted at various stages for the experiment. The methods given are quite general and they can be applied to other languages also. The work on some Dravidian languages is being started in our Department of Mathematics, Madras Christian College, Tambaram.

FIG. I. FREQUENCIES OF SOUNDS AND THEIR PROPOSED CODE SYMBOLS FOR TAMIL

Sound	Frequency	Code	Sound	Frequency	Code
a	150	.	t	27	...-
k	79	-	c	22	..-.
i	78	..	l:	21	.-..
u	77	.-	nh	21	-...
th	71	-.	e	18	..--
a:	47	--	e:	13	.-.-
r	45	...	n:	11	-..-
p	44	..-	o	10	.--.
m	42	.-.	o:	7	-.-.
n	38	-..	l·	7	--..
t:	36	.--	ng	6	.---
v	35	-.-	i:	4	-.--
l	31	--.	u:	4	--.-
y	29	---	nj	1	---.
ai	27	....	au	1	----
				1000	

FIG. II. POSITION OF SYMBOLS AND THEIR CORRESPONDING FREQUENCIES ON THE STANDARD KEYBOARD

FIG. III. REDUCTION OF NUMBER OF LETTERS FOR THE TELEPRINTER

◌ு and ◌ூ to be introduced as dead keys and ா and ? to be removed.

Present symbol		Method of combination				New symbol
ணூ / ஜூ	=	ண	+	◌ூ	=	ணூ
றூ	=	ற	+	◌ூ	=	றூ
நூ	=	ந	+	◌ூ	=	நூ
லூ	=	ல	+	◌ூ	=	லூ
ரு	=	ர	+	◌ு	=	ரு
றா	=	ற	+	ா	=	றா
ளு	=	ள	+	◌ு	=	ளு
ளூ	=	ள	+	◌ூ	=	ளூ
தூ	=	த	+	◌ூ	=	தூ
ஞு	=	ஞ	+	◌ு	=	ஞு
ணா	=	ண	+	◌ு	=	ணா (or ண + ா = ணா)
னா	=	ன	+	◌ு	=	னா (or ன + ா = னா)
கு	=	க	+	◌ு	=	கு
ஆ	=	அ	+	◌ு	=	ஆ

FIG. IV. PROPOSED CONVENTION FOR NUMERALS

1	=	க	6	=	ண
2	=	உ	7	=	ள
3	=	ங	8	=	அ
4	=	ச	9	=	ன
5	=	ரு or ரு	0		New symbol.

FIG. V. FURTHER REDUCTION OF SYMBOLS

The symbol । can be lengthened upwards and a new symbol / introduced.

Present symbol	Method of combination				New symbol
ரு	ர	+	/	=	ரு
ளு	ள	+	/	=	ளு
ஞ	ச	+	।	=	ஞ
ம	ட	+	'@	=	ம

FIG. VI. TELEPRINTER KEYBOARD (MODEL I)

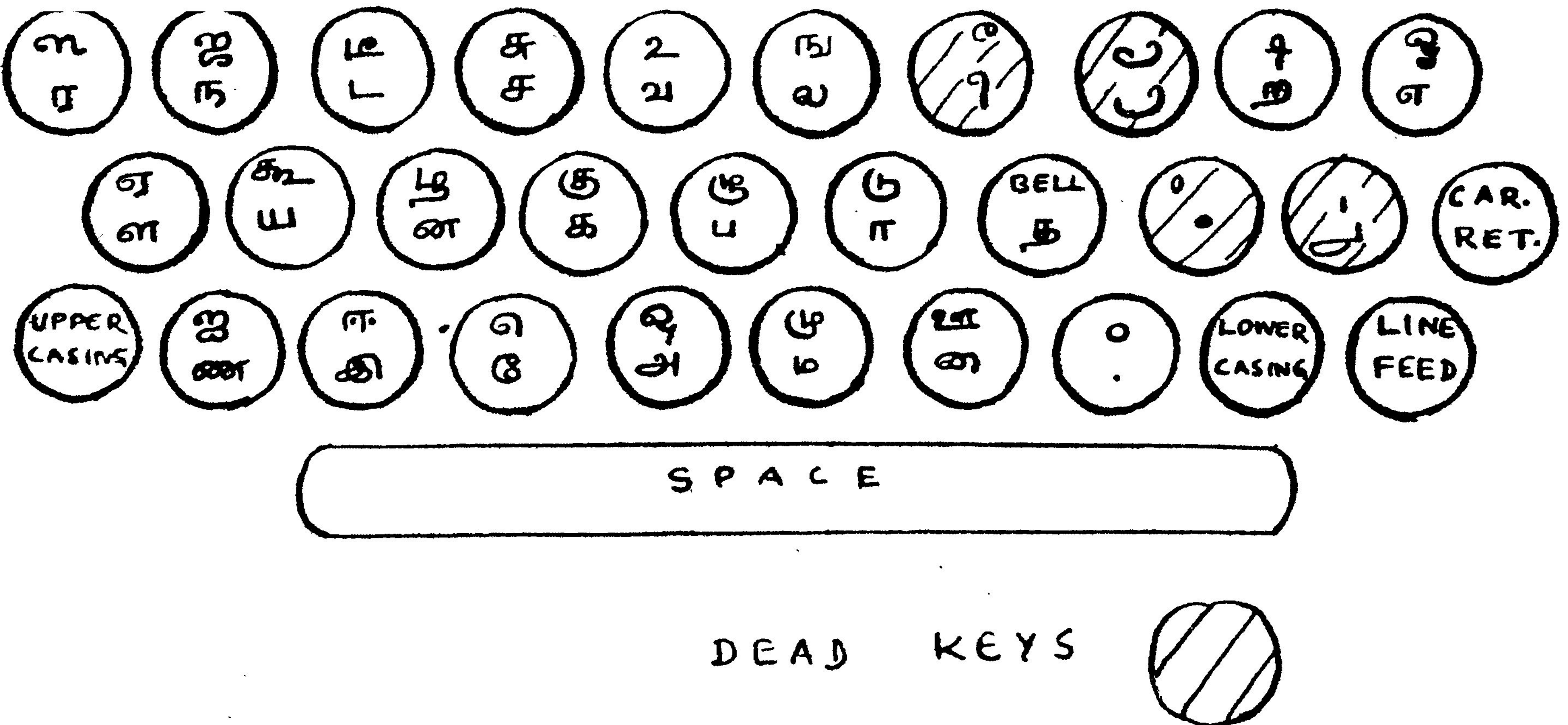


Fig. VII. TELEPRINTER KEYBOARD (Model II)

WHITE KEYS

BLACK KEYS

LINE FEED

RUN OUT

BELL

LINE FEED

CAR. RET.

BLACK

SPACE

WHITE

DEAD KEYS

Where did the Dravidians come from?

T. BALAKRISHNAN NAYAR

The problem of Dravidian origins is first, how to determine the original area of Dravidian speech in India and secondly, how to define both the region and the relative date at which the Dravidian-speakers entered the country.

It has been recognised for long that even a partial solution of the problem would require the correlation of linguistic, anthropological, and archaelogical data. Linguistic palaeontology definitely rules out the possibility of their having been the oldest inhabitants of the land.

In fact, in common with the inhabitants of all the countries, there lie unmistakable periods of mostly unknown content behind the Dravidian-speakers of India and they are to be considered old immigrants from beyond India long before the Indo-European speakers arrived. In their advance from the north-west they left a trail behind them, a delta of Dravidian speech in the Brahui of Baluchistan which shows still so many traces of old relationship with the Dravidian, though it has been separated since so long from its cousins in the south. The Baluchis and the Brahuis differ markedly from each other in their head-length, head-breadth, stature and other valid physical characteristics.

LOAN-WORDS

The Dravidian family of speech is polysyllabic and agglutinative and comprises within its ambit languages called Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, Tulu, Kodagu, Toda, Kota, Gondi, Kui, Kurukh, Brahui, Kolami, Parji, Naiki, Gadba, Ollari, Konda and Pengo. Linguistic pre-history proves that Dravidian-speakers had been living in the

country long before the advent of the first Indo-Aryan-speakers. Prof. Burrow has located as many as twenty Dravidian words in the Rg. Veda, the evidence of which would show the presence of the Dravidian-speakers in the upper regions of the Indus, where the majority of hymns of the Rg. Veda were composed.

In fact, on the basis of Dravidian loan-words in the Rg. Veda, Manfred Meyrhofer thinks that among the early peoples met by the Indo-European speakers in India were the Dravidian-speakers. The linguistic study of the vocabulary of the Rg. Veda at the hands of Kuiper showed that this ancient literary composition of the Indo-European speakers of India contained a large number of loan-words some of which were Dravidian.

While the main concentration of the Dravidian family of speech is now in South India, the existence of Brahui in Baluchistan and the occurrence of the Dravidian words even in the Rg. Veda at once confirm the theory that before the advent of the Indo-European speakers the Dravidian-speakers were in occupation of a considerably large area of the country including portions of North and North-West India. Dravidian influence is found not only in the vocabulary of the Indo-Aryan but also in its grammatical structure.

Agricultural economy

The influence of one language on another means co-existence of the two in the same region for a fairly long period of time. The loan-words in the Rg. Veda, however, are not all Dravidian; some are Munda. So in the land to which they came the Rg. Vedic Aryans found besides the Dravidian-speakers, also the Munda-speakers.

Dravidian loan-words in the Rg. Veda would indicate that when the Indo-European speakers first met them in the Punjab the economy of the Dravidian-speakers was primarily agricultural. They lived in houses and therefore were accustomed to settled ways of life. The fact that the mortar

used by the Rg. Vedic Aryans in connection with the preparation of the soma bears a Dravidian name may presumably mean that the soma itself was a Dravidian beverage. Other items in the repertoire of the life of the Dravidian-speakers at this early period probably included wearing of garlands or diadems on the head, of matted hair held up in a coil on the summit of the head, and the practice of offering gifts (to their Gods) besides the worship of Agastya—as their Kultur-hero.

The diffusion of the languages of the Dravidian family over the lands lying beyond the Hindukush in the north and the Makran in the west was largely a matter of conjecture until Lahovary published his book on the diffusion of the ancient languages of the Near East and their relations with the Basque, Dravidian and the primitive Indo-European languages of the Near East in 1957.

Unity shattered

Lahovary's study of the linguistic substrata of the Mediterranean and peri-Mediterranean world has demonstrated that Dravidian is not an isolated lingustic group but the survivor of an "incorporating and polysynthetic family of peri-Mediterranean, pre-Hamito-Semitic languages which covered without a break a vast zone of the Near East some four or five thousand years ago." According to him again the Sumerian, Hurrian, Elamite, Cappadocian, Carian, Pelasgian and Ligurian were, all of them, ancient dialects of the same family though they are no longer alive.

The unity of the family was shattered under the pressure of the Semites, the Indo-Aryans and many other peoples at various epochs and its surviving representatives are the Basque, the Caucasian and the Dravidian. "Between the Basque and the Caucasian", he says, "there is no genetic kinship, their relationship being that of collaterals". But between the Basque and the Dravidian now separated by great distance, Lahovary has found numerous phonetic, linguistic and morphological ties of the closest character.

It will be of interest to reproduce here Lahovary's picture of the culture of the Dravidian-speakers based on the words which are common today to Dravidian and to the Basque, Caucasian and Couchitic. On their arrival in India the Dravidians raised sheep, oxen, pigs and asses. They spun and wove wool and probably other kinds of fibre and had in their houses ducks and no doubt other domestic birds such as pigeons, doves and peacocks. They could also build their houses of wood. They named their towns and villages and they appear to have lived under local chiefs or kings. Their religion was based on agriculture with rites celebrating fertility. They believed in resurrection and in the eternal recurrence of life. They could till the land and they planted fruit trees though few in number; and it seems that stock-farming played a greater part than agriculture. There is little evidence that this civilisation was martial and there seems to have been no name for any instrument or weapon made of metal but pottery and viticulture, on the contrary, were known.

HOMOGENEOUS

The centre of the Neolithic c[illegible] and the centre of civilisations of the early metal [illegible] it is now generally accepted, was the Near East. The first farming communities were those of Jarmo in North Mesopotamia and Jericho in Palestine. Through successive migrations the Neolithic farmers of the Near East spread westward into Europe through the Balkans, the Aegean and North Africa and eastward into India through Iran.

The numerous cemeteries which the migrant Neolithic people from the Near East have left behind in Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Hungary and in Western Europe generally were found to contain a homogeneous race of the Mediterranean type. The emigration of the proto-Dravidians to North India according to Lahovary took place in the fourth millennium B.C. He would include in the first wave of immigrants from the Near East the Basques, the Caucasians and the Dravidians and " starting from the same centre of

civilisation speaking the same type of language and representing on the whole the same human race", he says, "there is nothing strange in the linguistic and cultural similarities that can be found in these various groups originating from the same stock and the same area in course of the same epoch."

After the Neolithic "diaspora", the Near East gave India two more "diasporas"—the Calcolithic civilisation mainly from Iran and the iron-using Megalithic civilisation mainly from the Caucasus. The most important conclusion that Lahovary finally arrives at is that from Iberia in Spain to India there exists a chain of civilisations, in spite of the more or less pronounced nuances, akin to each other whose rites, cùstoms, religions and toponomy are all alike.

At present linguistic groups do not coincide with uniform racial groups and therefore it is not possible to relate any particular language group to any specific ethnic stock. Nevertheless, where a stable ethnic type in a linguistic group is also a major ethnic type in that group, a not unwarranted inference would be that it was also its original ethnic type.

Race and language

Sir Arthur Keith's dictum that for language to exist there must be mouths to speak it would lead us to the conclusion that in the beginning any language must have been spoken by a people of a particular race though that language may now be spoken by a mongerel group. It is true that Dravidian is a linguistic group and this group taken as a whole does not coincide with any single ethnic type; but the principal element in the racial composition of the Dravidian-speakers of South India is the dolicocephalic "Mediterranean" of Sewell and Guha.

Guha's application of the principle of the Co-efficient of Racial Likenesses to the study of the somatic affinities of the Indian people has revealed a common dolicocephalic strain underlying the entire population of peninsular and central India and also partially of Gujerat and Bengal. This

dolicocephalic strain has some morphological similarities with the long-headed strain of Northern India. In fact a long-headed element with a high cranial vault which is the dominant element in South India among the Dravidian-speakers is also a principal element in the greater part of the lower strata of the population of Northern India including to some extent, the Punjab.

The Neolithic man of Piklihal (Andhra Pradesh, India) was not unlike the present-day man of the Deccan and the racial type that he represented was what we call the "Mediterranean." In pre-dynastic epoch lower Egypt and the middle valley of the Nile were inhabited by men belonging to this race. The Neolithic skull from Portugal was a variation of this type and the work of numerous physical anthropologists in the Near East has proved that in the Neolithic age, as at the present day, it was the varieties of the Mediterranean race that formed the prevailing ethnic type from the eastern Mediterranean shores to India.

The earliest inhabitants of Baluchistan who practised agriculture in the fourth millennium B.C. according to Fairservis came from Iran and were of Iranian origin and if as seems increasingly clear the Harappan civilisation is but a cultural evolution of the Neolithic civilisation that entered Baluchistan in the fourth millennium B.C. and if as Lahovary has shown there was a polysynthetic, incorporating, family of languages in the Near East including Iran in the Neolithic age—the surviving members of which today are the Basque, the Caucasian and the Dravidian, the assumption of Father Heras that the language spoken by the Harappan was Dravidian is clearly not fantastic. The shift in time between the beginnings of the Neolithic civilisation at Jarmo and in India, which may be of the order of about half a million years, has to be accounted for by the difficult terrain between the centre or centres of its diffusion in the Near East and India. For the beginnings of agriculture at KileGulMuhammad Baluchistan, we have a C 14 date of 5,300 plus—minus 200 B.P. (3,500—3,100 B.C.) not very

much removed in time from the Neolithic at Jarmo. The Neolithic of the Deccan of which Piklihal is a later phase would then be an extension of the Neolithic in Baluchistan although the intermediary links between KileGulMuhammad and Piklihal are uncertain.

Evidence of linguistic and racial pre-history together with the evidence of archaeology would seem to suggest that the original Dravidian-speakers entered India from Iran in the fourth millennium B.C. and that they were still in occupation of the Punjab and north western India when the Indo-Aryan speakers came on the scene in the early centuries of the second millennium B.C. That there was a linguistic unity which included India, Iran and Mesopotamia is also indicated by Dravidian place-names in the latter two regions.

The toponomy of India is in a very large measure derived from the Dravidian-speakers. Clemence Schoener traces a large number of ancient place-names in Afghanistan, the highlands of Persia and the plains of the Euphrates and Tigris to Dravidian. The hydronomy and toponomy of India, Afghanistan, Iran, Caucasus and of countries lying as far west as Spain would seem to support the linguistic unity of the area postulated by Lahovary.

In fact, scholars have assumed with good reason that there was a non-Indo-European speaking population on the plateau of Iran before the arrival of the Aryan speakers. A common element in the place-names of Iran and Afghanistan is the Dravidian word *malai*. The Dravidian word Ur (Uru) can be traced back to the period of the Sumerians in lower Mesopotamia. Lahovary has shown how the dydronomic names from the root *ar* were extremely widespread in ancient times from the Atlantic to India.

The Megalith-builders

From the days when Brahmagirl was excavated by Wheeler the obsession of Indian archaeology for a decade was with the Megalith-builders. Of two possibilities, (1) that the earlier Neolithic people were the original Dravidian-

speakers, and (2) that it was the intruding Megalith-builders with their developed iron industry who brought the Dravidian language into the country, Furer Hiamendorf accepts the first.

His thesis is that the people with iron-using Megalithic culture and the people of the Neolithic culture over-run by the former could not have spoken languages of the same family. But this *a priori* position that peoples of different cultures cannot be linguistically related has been contradicted again and again in Indo-European and in other fields as Emeneau has pointed out.

Deshpande would have it that the Megalith-builders of South India were also Dravidian-speakers. The fact that there are many loan-words from the Dravidian in the Rg. Veda automatically rules out Furer Hiamendorf's hypothesis that it was the iron-using Megalith-builders who brought the Dravidian language into the country about the middle of the first millennium B.C.

In the absence of any better claimant, considering that a significant substratum of the modern population of South India can claim ancestry from the first settlers of the Neolithic period, Allchin rightly identifies the Neolithic people of the Deccan with the original Dravidian-speakers, themselves a wave of Dravidian-speakers probably from Baluchistan and the Indus valley.

ODD FINDS

Allchin has found the closest similarity between the ground and pecked stone industry of Piklihal and Bellary and the stone industry from Iran. From Sind and Baluchistan odd finds representing this industry have been reported. Furthermore the blade industry of Piklihal consisting of blades, flakes and cores is in every respect comparable to the blade industry from Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements throughout the east. He would derive the Deccan Neolithic industry from the Chalcolithic and Neolithic industries of the Indus valley, Baluchistan and Iran.

It is now accepted that in the Neolithic age a nation in mass-migration swept over an area stretching from the mountains of Kurdistan to the Mediterranean. The people of Kurdistan then as now belonged to the dolico-cephalic type according to Eickstedt. Of the typological and technological affinities of Indian Neolithic artifacts with those from the Near East from sites like Tepe Hissar, Tepe Gaura, Hashunna and Mersin, and from Egypt and North Africa there can be no doubt and Atkinson rightly says that the more or less simultaneous appearance of tools of a special form or type in widely separated places can hardly be attributed to pure chance.

The area of diffusion of an ancient group of polysynthetic, incorporating languages including Basque, Caucasian and Dravidian noticed by Lahovary coincides with the diffusion of the Mediterranean man and in the light of facts of linguistic palaeontology of India, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that the Dravidian-speakers whose economy was largely agricultural when the Indo-European speakers of the period of the Rg. Veda met them in the Punjab were themselves the descendants of the Neolithic farmers who came to India from the Near East in the fourth millennium B.C.

UNBROKEN CONTACT

The contact between India and the Near East established in the Neolithic period continued unbroken till long afterwards. The Megalith-builders (particularly those who made the Megaliths with portholes) who came to the country in the beginning of the iron age from the Caucasus, probably were also Dravidian-speaking.

Wheeler spoke of an Indian Ocean culture pool. We should today speak rather of a culture pool which included the whole of the Near East and India, if not also the entire peri-Mediterranean region. Within this unitary culture pool there was movement backwards and forwards. The rockcut tombs of Malabar have their analogues in Israel in the seventh-eighth century. One of the beads from the iron age

graves from Sulur, in Coimbatore district of Madras State, made of wax has been dated by Beck to not later than seventh century B.C. in Mesopotamia. The tripod vases from the rock-cut tombs in Malabar are similar to those from burials at El Hammam, Tell Ahmar and Tell Barsib Syria. The bronze bowls from the cairn-circles of the Nilgiris agree in shape and technique of fabrication with the bronze bowls from Nimroud and Van of the Assyrian period. The concentric circles cutting the upper surface of the Assyrian bowls and their umbilical depressions are found repeated in the Nilgiri bowls. The sixteen petalled rosette and the lotus motifs of a Nilgiri bronze vase have their parallels in the ivory pieces from Nimroud.

The nearest analogues to the Nilgiri cairn-circles are from Bahrein. Most scholars have associated the 'draw wells' and barrows of the Nilgiris with the ancestors of the Todas. Prince Peter has found eleven names of deities of Sumerian origin in use among the Todas at the present day. Assyrian pantheon was generally Sumerian and may be during late Assyrian times there was a trading colony of people from Assyria on the Nilgiris and the Todas are their descendants. Further evidence of the contact between the Near East and South India during the Assyrian period is to be found in the place-name Mouziris on the Malabar coast and in the existence of the people called nairi (nairs) in Kerala. Assyria gave the Shadouf, the water lift called tula, to the Malabar coast.

Origin of Rice

Rice has been a puzzle for the palaeo-botanists. Nobody seems to know its origin or when it was first cultivated. Dr. K. Ramiah says "the origin of rice might be traced to South and East India where natural conditions most suitable for producing variability mutations and genic recombinations exist." In this connection it will be of interest to notice that one of the two kinds of rice cultivated in Shiraz (Iran) today is called Champeh which recalls to our minds the name of a familiar variety of rice grown in South India.

The people of the iron age urn-burials of Adichanallur on the Tamraparani river (Tinnevelly district of Madras State) cultivated rice somewhat similar to the short-grained varieties grown in South India today. The iron hoes from Adichanallur have to be derived from Palestine and their prototypes were probably imported into the Tamil country by the Phoenicians, who repaired thither for cassia, cinnamon, almug (Pterocarpus santalinus) so much sought after by the Israelite King Solomon. In their typology and in their method of hafting, the iron hoes from Adichanallur agree with the hoeblades from Gerar in Palestine dated by Petre to 1180 B.C. Gerar also produced gold frontlets decorated with lines of dots similar to gold frontlets from Adichanallur. Gold mouth-pieces from Adichanallur remind us of gold mouth-pieces from Enkomi in Cyprus of the late bronze age. The practice of wearing mouth-pieces by devotees carrying kavadi to the shrine of Murugan on the Palni hills is a survival from Adichanallur days.

The biblical references to products of South Indian origin which Hiram took to Solomon stand confirmed by material objects, if not actually imported from, at any rate undoubtedly inspired by, Palestine and seem to link securely Adichanallur to the absolute chronology of Palestine and Syria of the period of Solomon and also to take back the antiquity of iron and of rice in South India to circa 1000 B.C.

EARTHERN-WARE

The black-and-red ware of Lothal in Saurashtra, of the valleys of Banas and Gambhiri in eastern Rajasthan, Bikaner and the Gangetic basin and also of the megalithic burials in South India was not exclusively an Indian technique. It was practised by the Badarians, Tasians, the Amratians and the people of Merimde representing different cultures in Egypt.

Subba Rao has equated the original Dravidian-speakers with those who made this type of pottery in India. But if as Lucas has demonstrated it is a development of the polish-

ed red-ware and not a less accomplished stage in its manufacture it will be obviously not legitimate to speak in terms of a black-and-red ware culture and attribute it to any specific linguistic group like that of the Dravidian-speakers.

At the habitation site at Tirukkampuliyur (Trichinopoly district of Madras State) the russet-coated painted ware with wavy lines was earlier in point of time than the black-and-red ware. The russet-coated painted ware of Coimbatore and other districts of Madras State with its characteristic wavy lines and technique of engraving enhanced with inlays takes us back to the period of the Hurrians in the Near East.

Sea communication

In the mid-third millennium B.C. there was communication by sea between Sind and Kathiawar on the one hand and between Sind and Mesopotamia on the other along the Persian Gulf (during the period of Sargon of Akkad). The coastal route from the head waters of the Persian Gulf to Sind and further down along the west coast, of India, however, was not discoved for the first time in mid-third millennium B.C.

It represents a route that was already exploited by the Neolithic people in the earlier millennium. It continued to flourish down to the period of the Assyrian kings whose subjects seem to have exploited the timber of Malabar, the gold of Waynad and Nilgiris and the semi-precious stones like Beryl (Assyrian : Burallu) of Coimbatore. Before the Assyrians it was this route again that brought the megaliths to peninsular India. In this coastal route not all the landing points were touched by all.

Single culture pool

Our study of Dravidian origins has taken us beyond India, to the Near East, Egypt, North Africa and the western shores of the Mediterranean and we have found that south western Asia, Iran and India formed a single culture

pool since Neolithic times down to the period of the Assyrians.

Within this single culture pool ideas and objects travelled to and fro. The sketch of a barn-door cock from Egypt of the 18th dynasty shows that there was so much communication with India that an indigenous Indian bird was so much known in Egypt as to have been sketched. Thothmes III clearly had hens. Throughout India river-craft as pointed out by Hornell are very archaic in their general features resembling ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian types so closely that they vivify scenes on the Nile and the Tigris in the time of Rameses and Assuroanipal.

The Palaeolithic man crossed continents half a million years ago, so too his successors the Upper-Palaeolithic and Mesolithic men. Amongst animals wander-lust is greatest in man. A track once formed continues to be trodden by him ever afterwards unless by natural causes, climatic changes or upheavals of the earth's crust obliterate them.

—*The Sunday Standard*, Jan. 13, 1963.

News and Notes

We publish below an account given by our Mr. Heinz Tittlebach, a German Scholar, of his stay in Tamil Nad.

—My First Tamil Studies

MY FIRST TAMIL STUDIES

Having come out to Madras for Tamil studies mainly I was very happy to meet so eminent a scholar and writer as the late Professor Sethu Pillai was. It is deplorable that my stay, then, could not be extended.

On the first day of our acquaintance Professor Sethu Pillai told me some details on the spirit of the Tamil language. He pointed out that Tamil in spite of being a rather old language has conserved its vitality even now-a-days. As he put it very convincingly, " Tamil is both old and young. Tamil classical literature has been originating in times unthinkable. If you study Tirukkural you will experience the greatness of Tamil culture. If you read modern Tamil stories or if you talk to people in the street you will find that Tamil has been kept alive. Sanskrit has not. Tamil will never die."

Professor Sethu Pillai went on, " Do not waste too much time in studying grammar books. Listen to people in the street! Pick up what they talk! After sometimes you may let me know whether you were succeeding." I tried to pick up as much as I could by means of children's books, Tamil daily papers, modern short stories, by talking to people in the street, by attending Tamil performances, and by contacting Tamil munshis. To improve my prose style in Tamil I wrote short stories depicting scenes from everyday's life. Here some titles are given :

1. Annanum tampiyum
2. En mōṭṭār caikkil
3. Rikṣā karan
4. Narrations of Tamil films.

I found it very interesting to attend Tamil film performances. I do not want to judge the quality of the films I attended. No matter whether they were good or bad —all of them offered to me an opportunity, to increase the working knowledge of my Tamil. Apart from that, as I see it, I got a sociological outline of the Tamil country and its people. Maybe the pictures the films gave were not always correct. However, when travelling, I often found that scenes from Tamil films were occurring even in everyday's life. I learnt that Tamil films were an offspring from the Tamil street dramas which are said to have been flourishing in the City fifty years ago. One day I attended a Tamil drama performance in a big hall. As far as I remember it was an adoptation from a Shakespeare tragedy. The language was rather highbrow Tamil. As I am very much interested in classical South Indian music I was very glad that I was invited to attend a concert. I will never forget the impression the nadasvaram, and the vina made upon me. Some days later I went to a Bharata Natyam performance. I watched the outstanding dancer Minati Das. Listening to the musical accompaniment I was deeply touched by the way how the instruments were being played and how artistically the singers were reciting the Tamil texts.

Apart from my Tamil studies in the City I saw a lot of places of interest in South India, such as Mahabalipuram, Kancheepuram, Mathurai, Tirunelveli, Trivandrum, Cape comorin and Tirupathi.

It was very interesting for me to learn that Tamil is well understood in Trivandrum and that Malayalam is very cognate to Tamil.

The period of my stay ended so soon that I could not complete my Tamil studies by taking a degree, as Professor Sethu Pillai advised me to do.

SANDWICHED TAMIL

I think it is sufficient introduction when I say that I am a Tamil; that fact also explains why I write to you in English. It is not just an anomaly but a tragedy that any one member of our community should write to another in a foreign language—that too, a former rulers' language. Apart from the fact that we have been one of the most servile, subservient, slavish people in the world, we too suffer from the endemic malady of discarding every worthwhile heritage, even to go so far as to denigrate our people for a mess of pottage. I too am a Tamil worthy of the name. I spent the formative years of my life labouring over our ex-masters' language, having been weaned from Tamil at an early age (though not as early as in the case of many others due to the fact that my father was not acquainted with that prestige—symbol of half-kultier) I was (alas! in the past tense) quite proficient—at least for my age and the milien—in my language when the regettable course of bottle feeding was forced on me for financial reasons—yes, we are all mercenaries! and I have never been able to get back to my first love.

Here, in London, I have on every occasion tried to carry on a conversation with a fellow Tamil in the medium of—what I would consider to be the automatic and spontaneous choice Tamil, but on every such occasion at once I became aware that the conversation had deteriorated into one in an ugly, unaesthetic and monstrous ling—a species of pidgin Tamil (or English) in which both languages are horribly raped and mangled. I give as an example how a friend tried to convey a certain idea to me—" Clapham Common இலே breeze நல்ல cooling ஆய்வீசுது no "—(the last word is a " Ceylonism " for " Is it not ? ") I leave it to you to comprehend what he meant by the above. I do not want to give you the impression of adopting a " holier than thou " attitude towards my 'co-linguists'; I am myself prone to

commit this "besetting sin" as much as any other Tamil in London, but I only want to express my concern about what I consider to be a very dangerous situation. Here lies a fertile ground for yet another "language," as in the case of Malayalam and Telugu, with all the fissile and divisive consequences that it implies. Instead of encouraging such a tendency I, therefore, talk to my "muddled lingual" friends in English. One of the reasons for my writing this letter to you is to spotlight this scandal and try to focus your attention to this matter. If anybody can do anything about it, that would be you.

There is yet another matter I wish to suggest to you. As I have profound admiration for your service to Tamil language through the journal "Tamil Culture" and by your unflagging efforts in various other directions what I shall be saying presently is not intended to detract from the credit that you amply deserve. It is surely a worthy endevour to proclaim the glorious past of our language to foreigners, but there is the other complementary task—indeed the more urgent one—of giving the Tamils the best in other languages. As expressed by the Great Goethe, we study other languages so as to enrich ours. By translating the immortal works in other languages not only do we bring in new information, thereby adding a new dimension to our language but also entirely novel concepts that never existed in Tamil these enlarging immensely our conceptual field. These concepts when rendered in Tamil world obviously, add to our vocabulary as well; words give rise to new thoughts; thoughts give rise to new words.

Here again we can look up to men like you only. It had been my idle vision for a long time, to form a publishing company through which to publish the best works in all the languages in the world and at some future time to employ computors to translate scientific journals from Russian,

English, French, German etc., speedily into Tamil. Obiviously it is too quixotic a dream even if you do not take into consideration the fact that I am the poorest Ceylonese student in London. This, I think is a job for large institution or for spirited and capable men like you.

(Sd.) K. SANMUGASUNDARAM

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